Rewriting post-colonial historical representations: the case of refugees in Zimbabwe's war of liberation

Blessed Magadzike

Thesis submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

In the Department of Historical Studies

University of Cape Town

12 July 2019

Supervisor: Associate Professor S. Field

Co-Supervisor: Dr. M. Mulaudzi

DECLARATION

I Blessed Magadzike declare that *Rewriting Postcolonial Historical Representations: The case of Refugees in Zimbabwe's war of Liberation* is my own work and has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references

Blessed Magadzike Signed Signed by candidate

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother, Philippa Magadzike nee Karaaidze and my son Regis Tinomudaishe Magadzike who couldn’t wait to see me to complete this work. I say zororai murugare Vhudzijena nemi Nyati

ABSTRACT

'Rewriting postcolonial historical representations: The case of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war' focuses on the historicisation of the experiences of people who were refugees during Zimbabwe's liberation war, fought between 1966 and 1980. It uses the narratives of former refugees from Mutasa and Bulilima Districts as a way of capturing their histories of the war period. When Zimbabwe attained independence in 1980, the country embarked on a historicisation project that was ably supported by a memorialization one. The aim of these twin projects was to capture the experiences of people who had either participated in the war or had been affected by it. Whilst all the other key players in that war such as the political leadership, the war veterans, the former detainees and even the ordinary peasants' experiences have been captured in these projects, there has been an absolute silence on those of people who were refugees. The same also applies to the omission of the refugee's voice in the continued regeneration of such histories that has been taking place since the year 2000 in Zimbabwe. Using the central question that asks about the experiences of displacement in Zimbabwe's liberation war, the research argues that we can only understand the totality of that war, the interactions that took place and the identities it created if the refugee figure and voice are represented on the historical record.

Key words

Refugees, liberation, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia, representations

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this thesis would not have been possible without acknowledging theFirst generosity and contribution of several organisations and individuals.

Firstly, the financial assistance of the National Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, in collaboration with the Council for the Development of Social Science Research in Africa (CODESRIA) towards this research is hereby acknowledged. Opinions expressed and conclusions arrived at are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the NIHSS and CODESRIA

Secondly, I am also grateful to the University of Cape Town (UCT) for awarding me an International and Refugee students' scholarship that made my registration for each academic r easy. I am indebted to the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC) who advanced me a dissertation proposal development scholarship through their Next Generation Social Sciences in Africa program. Through the SSRC grant, I was able to conduct preliminary field investigations in 2016. I also attended two seminars that were organised by the SSRC in Nairobi, Kenya and Accra, Ghana where I presented my proposal. I am also grateful to the Faculty of Humanities at UCT who awarded me a Dean's dissertation completion grant in 2019, without which I would not have been able to complete this work.

A sincere appreciation also goes to my supervisors, Associate Professor Sean Field and Dr Maanda Mulaudzi for guiding me through the course of this work. Starting with the proposal writing stage and moving to the thesis itself, the two gentlemen read numerous drafts that I prepared before passing insightful comments through which I was able to shape this dissertation. These two gentlemen did not only offer guidance in academic matters. In 2018 when I lost my son Regis Tinomudaishe Magadzike and my mother, Philippa Magadzike nee Kaaraidze within a week of each other, the two offered me counselling through which I was able to get back on my feet upon my return to Cape Town. Prior to that, when I had taken long to return to Cape Town, Sean sent me an email to check on what was happening. Further, the two also wrote recommendation letters for scholarship renewals and other scholarship applications that I made. It was through their efforts that I was able to get my scholarship renewed each academic year. Maanda also gave me an important book to use as secondary literature for my study. I shall always cherish that gift.

In Cape Town, I wish to thank the support that I got from Robert Nyamushosho who accommodated me during my early months of settlement in the city. At the University of the

Western Cape, I will forever remain indebted to Professor Uma Dhupelia-Mesthrie who maintained a keen interest in my academic development. When NIHSS announced its call for applications, it was Uma who alerted me on this development through a Facebook message with the words “Blessed this is for you”. She then proceeded to write a reference letter in support of my application for the scholarship. Still at UWC, I am also grateful to Professor Leslie Witz for offering me guidance when I enrolled for the PhD program. It was Leslie who advised me to relocate from the place that I was residing as he deemed it to be too far from UCT. Alongside Uma, Leslie also continued to write reference letters for me each time that I wanted one.

At UCT, I would like to thank Emeritus Associate Professor Andrew Mugsy Spiegel for the support he rendered me in his capacity as NIHSS mentor for UCT students. Each time that I encountered some challenges with my NIHSS scholarship, Mugsy never hesitated to make follow ups on my behalf. I am also grateful to Zam Ndzotyana for facilitating my registration in 2019.

In the Historical Studies Department at UCT, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to the HOD, Dr. Bodhisattiva Kar for his unwavering support on my academic progress. Bod also supported my application for a Humanities Dissertation Completion grant. I am also grateful to his predecessor, Associate Professor Lance Van Sittert for maintaining a keen interest in my progress. I am also grateful to Colleen Peterson and all the administrative staff in the Historical Studies Department for making sure that my scholarship and other documents were processed and signed expeditiously. I am also grateful to the Department for offering me tutorship positions.

In Harare, Zimbabwe, I am extremely grateful to the Executive Director of the National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe (NMMZ), Dr Godfrey Mahachi for believing that I can make it in the academic world and offering support thereafter. I am also grateful to the Regional Director and Staff of the Northern Region (NMMZ) for supporting me during the above mentioned bereavement that took place during the course of this study. Still in Harare, I will forever remain grateful to Ms Rufaro Mahonde for the counselling that she gave me during the bereavement. When Rufaro heard that I was planning to withdraw from my PhD studies due to the loss that I had suffered, she sought me out and used her own experiences to counsel me. I am also grateful to Senzeni Khumalo, Biggie Chikwiramakomo and Takudzwa Pasipanodya for assistance rendered during fieldwork for this study. Still in Zimbabwe, I will forever remain indebted to Dr Ngonidzashe Marongwe of Great Zimbabwe University for friendship and academic mentorship. Ngoni read drafts of my first two chapters before passing useful

comments and also directing me to academic literature which he thought would be useful to my study.

My stay in Cape Town during my fourth year would not have been possible without the financial support of several individuals through which I was able to pay my rentals. These individuals are Reverend and Engineer Augustine Gwashavanhu, Dr Njabulo Chipangura, Peter Mata, Phindile Sizane, Hlengiwe Patricia Ndlovu and Netsai Margarate Machingambi Mhlanga. Phindile Sizane's family alongside Lindeka Asanda Jevu became my family away from home. I am also grateful to other various forms of support that I received from Professor Shadreck Chirikure, Dr Joseph Chikumbirike, Mr Lovemore Mandima and Mr Ferdinand Mwanjewa Mbwangi. I am also grateful to other individuals who kept on enquiring on the progress that I was making in my studies. These are, Destino Kazika, Abdul Gharieb, Shureh Mohamed, Esther Chipashu, Godfrey Nyaruwanga, Farai Chabata, Lawrence Makusha and Naome Chiruka.

I would also like to acknowledge the support that I received from my siblings and other family members. Of these family members, special mention goes to my partner Ruth Bepete, my eldest brother William Magadzike, younger brother Ishmael Magadzike, and cousin brother Talkmore Kubuya, nephews Charles Kaaraidze, Joe Chingaya and Blessing Mwatsikeni. To Ruth I say thank you MaSiziba for keeping the family functional during my long absence. To William I say thank you for the support that you gave me during my foundational stages of education. Without your support I would never have been able to attain an ordinary level certificate of education, an important gateway to higher studies like a PhD.

I am also grateful to the staff of the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the staff of the UCT libraries. When I failed to return some books to the library on time after I had rushed to Zimbabwe upon receiving the news of the death of my son, the staff of the UCT libraries understood my situation and wrote of my debt.

Lastly, I will forever remain grateful to the 47 former refugees who volunteered their refugee experiences. This thesis is about them. Without them it would have been impossible to write a history of refugees' experiences in Zimbabwe's liberation war.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES AND PHOTOGRAPHS

ABBREVIATIONS

AAI	African American Institute
ADA	Assistant District Administrator
ANC	African National Congress
ASA	African Studies Association
BBC	British Broadcasting Cooperation
BCC	Botswana Council of Churches
DA	District Administrator
EWP	Education with Production
FRELIMO	Frente de Libertação de Moçambique
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IGCR	Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees
IRCOZ	International Refugee Council of Zambia
IRO	International Refugee Organisation
JZ	Jason Ziyaphapha
MDC	Movement for Democratic Change
MK	Umkhondo we Sizwe
MRA	Madhlambudzi Refugees' Association
NAZ	National Archives of Zimbabwe
NCA	National Constitutional Assembly
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PI	Prohibited Immigrant
PV	Protected Village
RENAMO	Resistência Nacional Moçambicana
RSF	Rhodesian Security Forces
SASP	Southern African Student Program for Southern African Refugee Students
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations

UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
VC	Victory is Certain Camp
WUS	World University Services
ZANLA	Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army
ZANU PF	Zimbabwe African National Union- Patriotic Front
ZAPU	Zimbabwe African People's Union
ZILWACO	Zimbabwe Liberation War Collaborators Organisation
ZIMFEP	Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production
ZIPRA	Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army

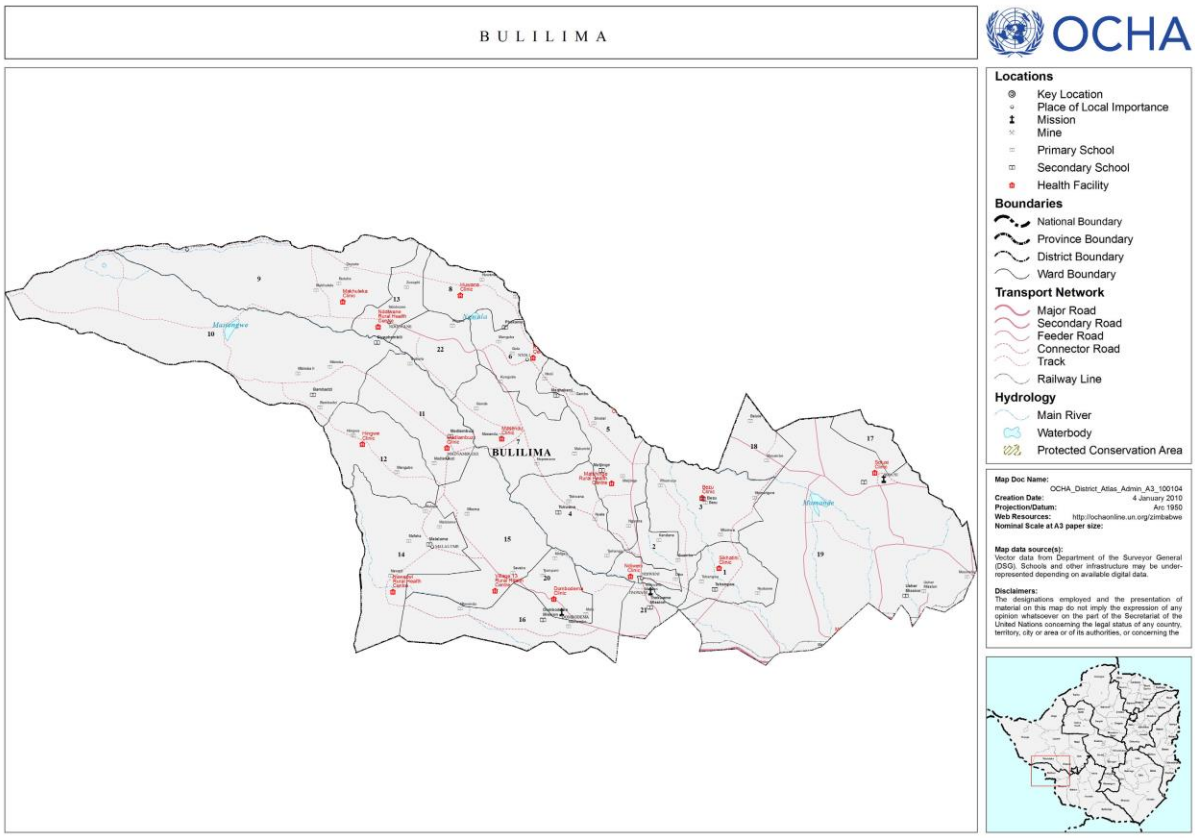


Figure 1. Map of Bulilima District discussed in this thesis. Source **http://ochaonline.un.org/zimbabwe/DistrictMaps.aspx, Accessed 4 October 2018**

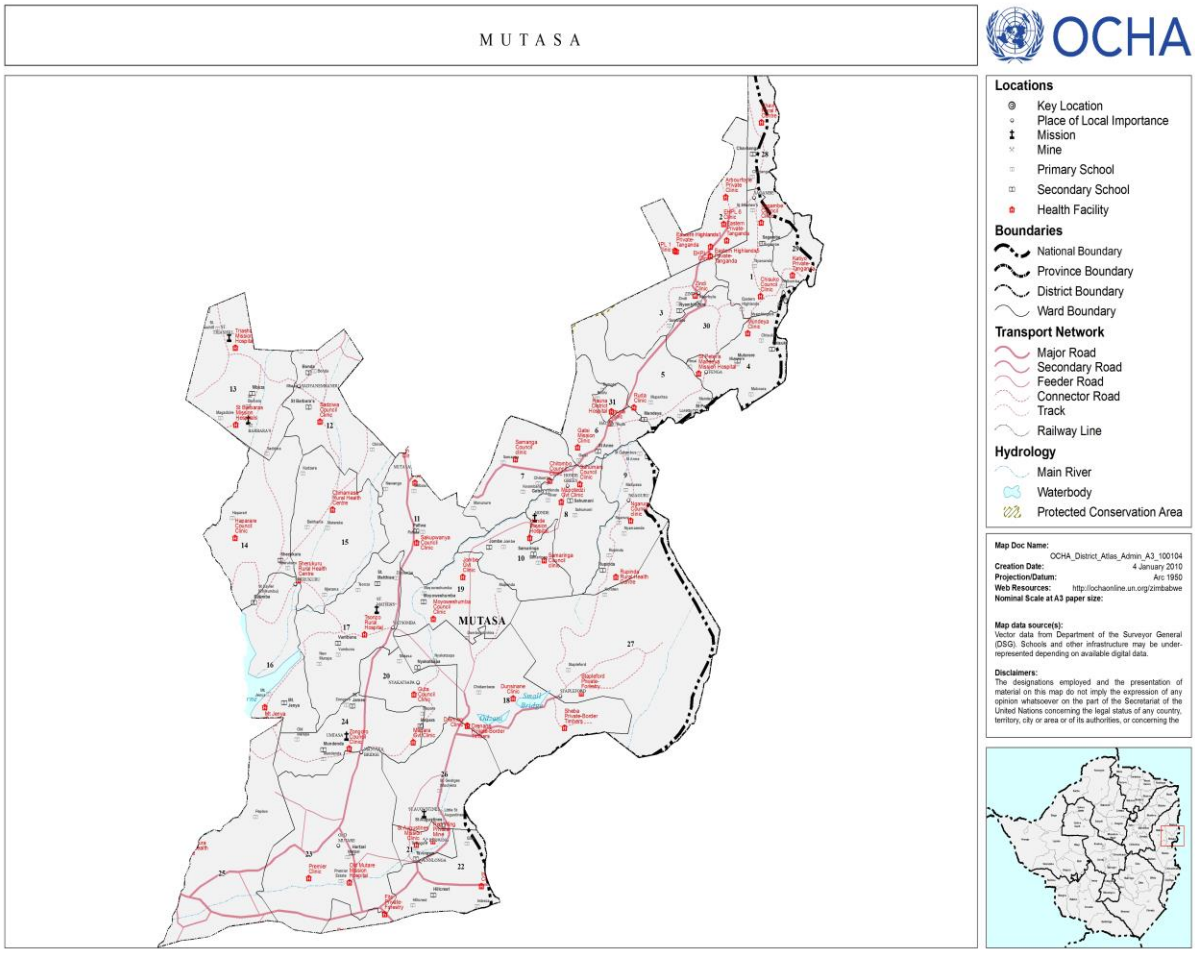


Figure 2. Map of Mutasa District discussed in this thesis. Source **http://ochaonline.un.org/zimbabwe/DistrictMaps.aspx, Accessed 4 October 2018**

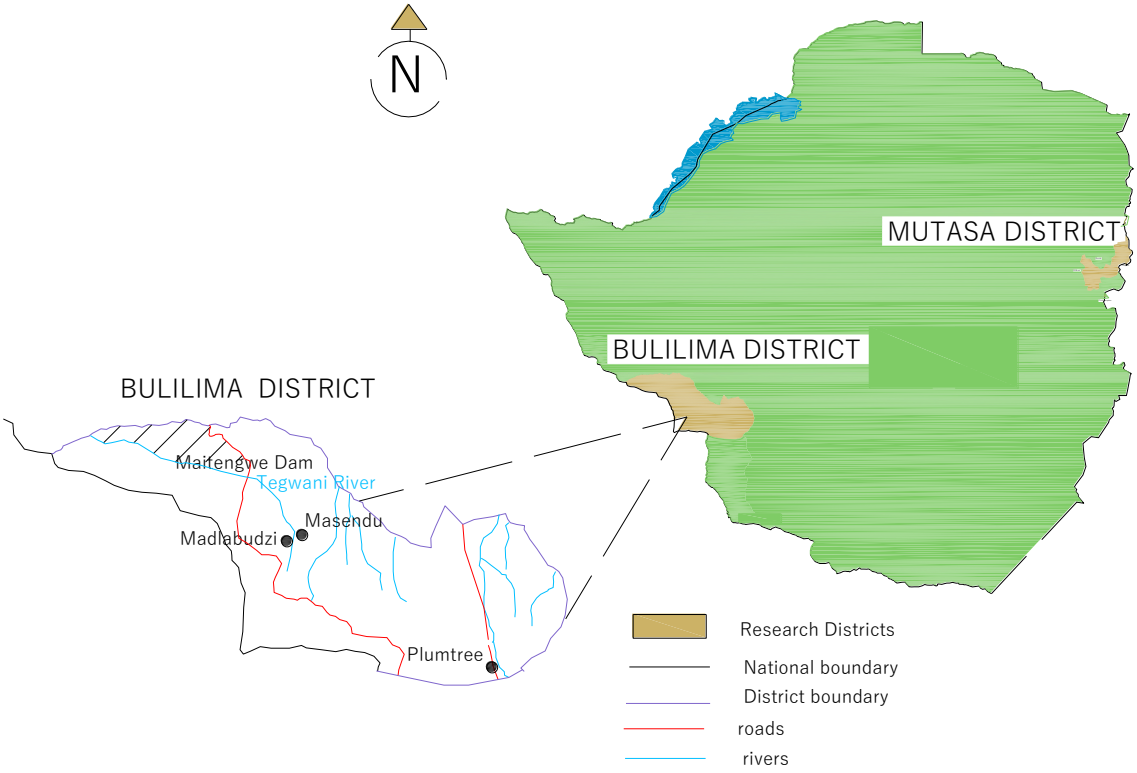


Figure 3. Map showing location of Bulilima District in Zimbabwe. Source, Biggie Chikwiramakomo

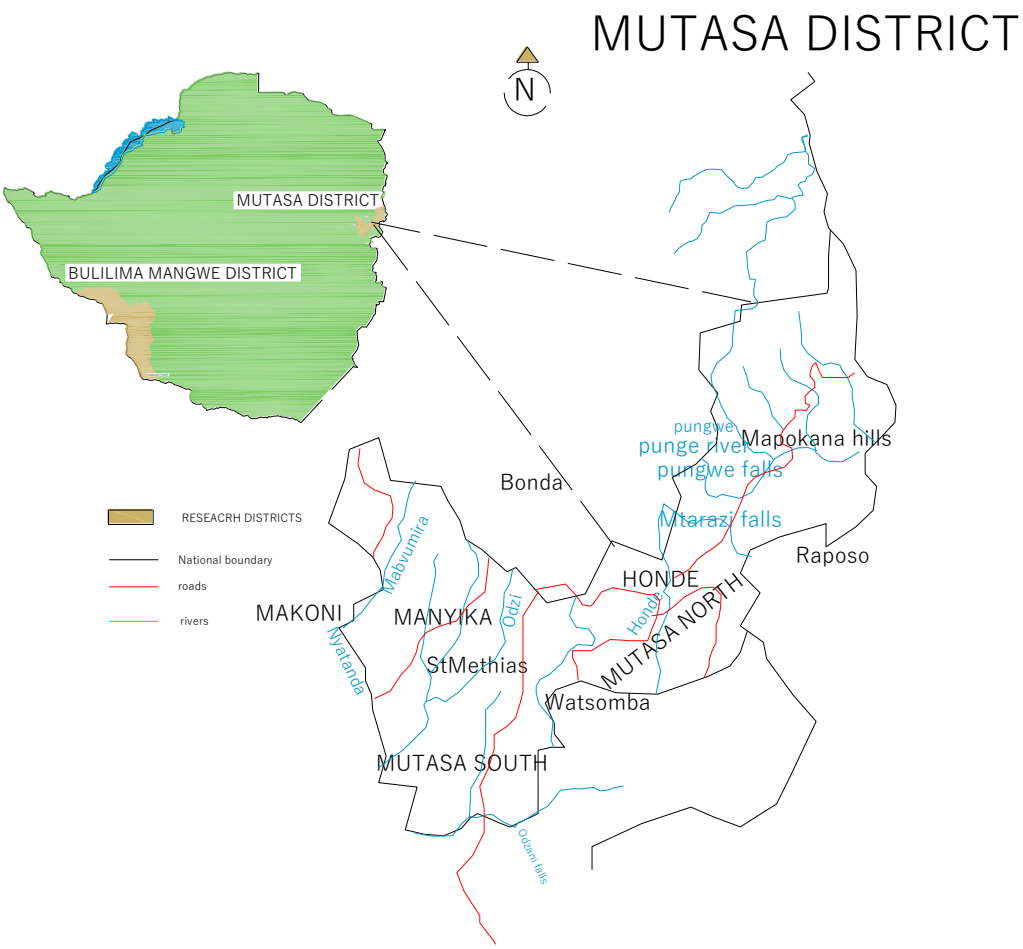
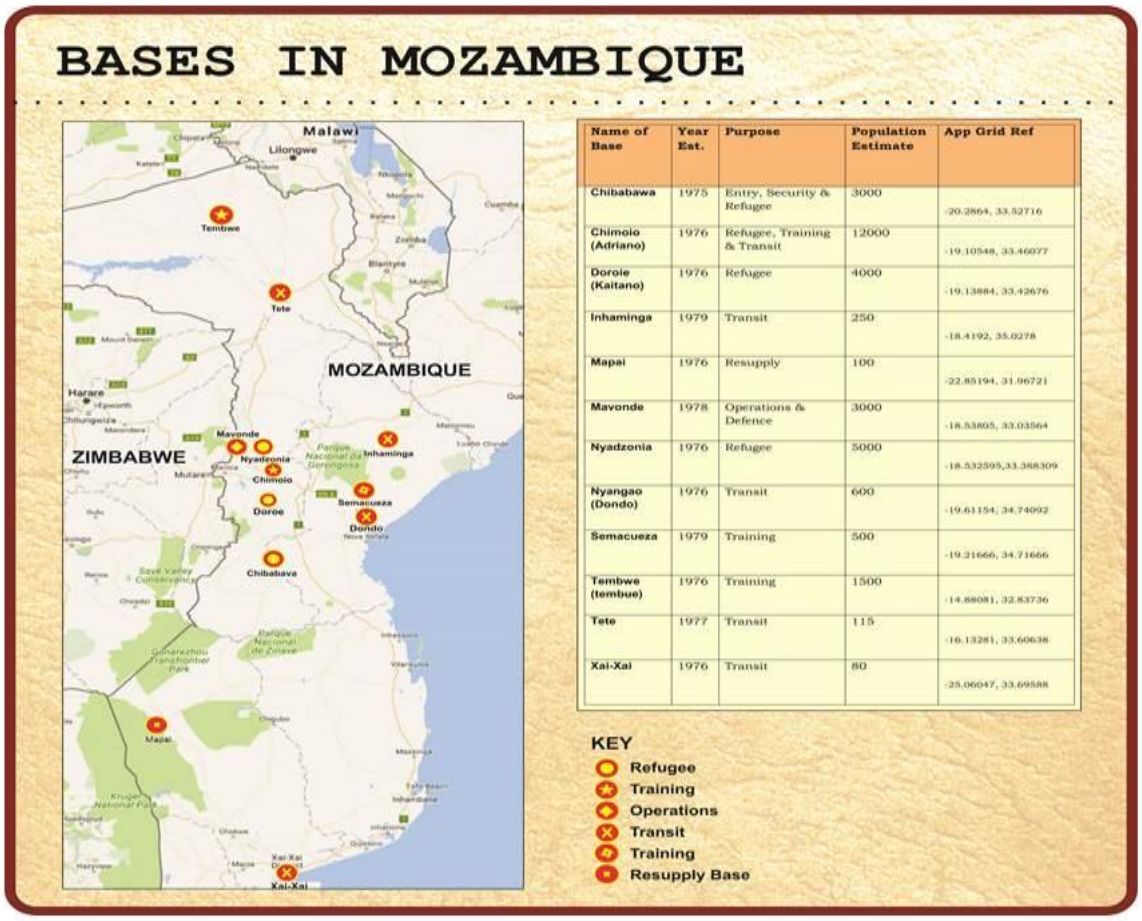


Figure 4. Map showing location of Mutasa District in Zimbabwe. Source, Biggie Chikwiramakomo



Name of Base	Year Est.	Purpose	Population Estimate	App Grid Ref
Chibabawa	1975	Entry, Security & Refugee	3000	-20.2864, 33.52716
Chimoio (Adriano)	1976	Refugee, Training & Transit	12000	-19.10548, 33.46077
Doroie (Kaitano)	1976	Refugee	4000	-19.13884, 33.42676
Inhaminga	1979	Transit	250	-18.4192, 35.0278
Mapai	1976	Resupply	100	-22.85194, 31.96721
Mavonde	1978	Operations & Defence	3000	-18.53805, 33.03564
Nyadzonia	1976	Refugee	5000	-18.532595,33.388309
Nyangao (Dondo)	1976	Transit	600	-19.61154, 34.74092
Semacueza	1979	Training	500	-19.21666, 34.71666
Tembwe (tembue)	1976	Training	1500	-14.88081, 32.83736
Tete	1977	Transit	115	-16.13281, 33.60638
Xai-Xai	1976	Transit	80	-25.06047, 33.69588

Figure 5. Map showing location of some of the Liberation War sites in Mozambique discussed in this thesis. Source, National Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe courtesy of L Mandima and J Magadzike

CHAPTER 1

CONCEPTUALISING THE ZIMBABWEAN REFUGEES OF THE WAR PHENOMENON

1.0 Introduction

In response to a question from the British Broadcasting Cooperation News' Peter Snow in his first ever post 1980-election victory interview, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe mentioned refugees as a key challenge that his incoming government wanted to see addressed as soon as possible.[1] Judging by the fact that during the time of the interview, Mugabe was speaking as both the incoming head of government and leader of a political party that had won the Zimbabwean elections, his mention of refugees implied the seriousness of refugee matters to the incoming postcolonial government. So important was this issue of refugees appeared that a few months after Mugabe's proclamation, his Deputy Minister of Lands Resettlement and Rural Development, Moven Mahachi also promised to put Mugabe's words into practice. According to Mahachi, "the priority of his Ministry" was to "resettle all war refugees still in Zambia and Mozambique and people in protected villages before the onset" of the "rains".[2]

Although the question of whether these promises by Zimbabwe's incoming leaders were fulfilled or not will be examined later in the study, what these references clarified was that refugees were indeed a category that had been produced by the war. Again, from such confirmation, it can also be stated that the nation state's ideological inclination as far as people who had been sent into refugee situations by the war was promising. From such early rhetoric about refugees, the expectation was for the same refugees to be fully represented in Zimbabwe's post-colonial narratives of struggles for emancipation, a narrative that became central in explanations of Zimbabwe's ideological conception as a nation state. Instead, the situation that happened was that nothing much has been propagated in historical literature concerning the refugees' experiences of wartime displacement and afterwards.

Thus, based on the above analysis, this thesis addresses two issues. Firstly, it addresses the manner in which issues of refugees have been captured and articulated in the various spheres

[1] 'Robert Mugabe's 1980 victory: Newsnight special (1980)- Newsnight archives' downloaded from the internet, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSWQF2ZXOrA&t=1109s accessed on the 25th of February 2017
[2] 'Resettlement to be complete before the rains', *Moto Magazine*, 12 April 1980

of historical representation. Secondly, it seeks to write the histories of those people who were categorised as refugees during Zimbabwe's struggles for emancipation. By the time the armed phase of the Zimbabwe struggle that had commenced in 1966, ended in 1980, more than 200 000 people were living as refugees, mostly in Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. Although the individual refugee host countries' refugee population figures varied from one source to another, Mozambique was reputed to have been host to more than 160 000, while Botswana and Zambia hosted more than 20 000 and 40 000 respectively. A greater proportion of these refugees only repatriated to independent Zimbabwe in 1980 after the country's elections that were lauded as democratic, multiracial, and multiparty in comparison to those held in 1979. However, as far as the issue of refugees in post-war Zimbabwe is concerned, there was dissonance between their citation in government circles during the country's formative years and their representation in historical literature in the post colony. In fact, in post-independence just like in the same manner that Philip Marflet observed with global refugees' histories, there was apathy[3] in producing histories of refugees that were informed by their lived experiences. What emerged instead were historical representations of refugees informed by nationalist ideologies.

1.1 Historical representations: problems

Broadly, as far as the issue of Zimbabwean refugees is concerned, they were subjected to a series of factors that culminated in representations, which this thesis interrogates. The first is linked to the citation during the formative years of the country when it transited from white led Rhodesia to black led Zimbabwe as discussed in the previous section. Whilst the Zimbabwean Prime Minister elect Robert Mugabe and his Deputy Minister of Lands, Moven Mahachi might have mentioned refugees as a category of the war as noted above, their assertions were quickly overtaken by events afterwards. Notably, the refugees never received significant attention in government circles soon afterwards, and this raised questions on the firmness of the government's ideological position on questions related to refugees' legacies. This thesis traces the genealogy of the lack of ideological steadiness and subsequent shifts before proposing an argument that there is need to think of such a shift as an archiving process and not an orphaning one. Chapter 1 and Chapter 7 illustrate that when refugees

[3]Philip Marflet, 'Refugees and history: Why we must address the past' *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2007), pp. 136-148 accessed from the internet on the 31st of August 2015 from http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdi0248

ceased to be the struggle and nation's public face, their experiences were seen as belonging to an archive to be retrieved when necessary. In addition, such a transition represented an indifference to that of the wartime when both sets of warring parties used refugees as resources for war[4] and a public face.[5]

Apart from the problems that faced refugees from a governmental perspective, the historical productions made on the general history of the war did not broaden the historical knowledge base on the place of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war legacies. As this thesis argues, apart from their inclination towards what T.G Ashplant *et al* refer to as the " so called dominant histories of the war,"[6] these historical works also fell short in asking critical questions about who were these refugees being referred to in political circles and why were they being referred to as such. Apart from maintaining an almost consistent trend whereby refugees remained nameless and voiceless, suggestions by historical writers Makanya and Sadomba, that refugees were triggered by a desire to participate in the liberation war[7] did not help in creating understandings of the refugee category. Such suggestions, took away the 'refugee' aspect out of the refugees negatively, thereby submerging their histories in the process. Instead of refugees becoming subjects of historical knowledge, they became a category to be understood through presumed dominant categories that were not prepared to include them as full members of the anti-colonial struggle narrative.

Whereas counter interpretations can be presented for it to appear as if attempts at reclassification of refugees, as implied by Sadomba entailed their graduation from an assumed inferior category, "refugees" to a more presentable one, "recruits", I argue that this too has silencing consequences to refugee histories. The result of this will be a complete disappearance of the word refugee whilst there is nothing on the ground to show for such a

[4] I borrowed this term from Steven Stedman and Fred Tanner who used it to illustrate some of the problems faced by refugees in wartime situations. Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner, 'Refugees as Resources in War', in Stephen John Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics, and the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2003), p 3

[5] Just like the liberation political parties, the Rhodesian State also showed concern for refugees.

[6] Ashplant T. G., et al, The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration : Contexts, structures and dynamics", in T. G Ashplant, et al (eds) *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration*, (London and New York : Routledge, 2000) pp 3-85

[7] For such suggestions, see S.T Makanya 'The desire to return: Effects of experiences in exile on refugees repatriating to Zimbabwe in the early 1980s' in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994) pp 105-125; Z.W Sadomba '*War Veterans in Zimbabwe's Revolution: Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Settler and International Capital'* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2011

promotion. In fact, it is the argument of this thesis that the most plausible favour that could be done for refugees is to account their historical legacies without proposing qualifications. As the thesis will further emphasise, we can only account for the link between refugees and the notion of war adequately from the perspective of "refugees in the liberation war" rather than by assuming that they were driven by a desire to participate in the war. In a way, this will create broader understandings of the phenomenon as opposed to interpretations deduced from deployment of narrow guiding frameworks such as the struggle consciousness suggested in the respective works of Makanya and Sadomba. In approaching the former refugees' histories in this way, the beneficiary will not only be the refugees but history as a subject.

The main argument posited in this thesis is that we can only attain in-depth understanding of Zimbabwe's liberation war by taking into consideration, the historical dimensions of its various legacies. In framing this argument, firstly, my concerns are shaped by general ideological perceptions presented in the public sphere by the nation's leaders and immortalised in various media such as the national anthem and the national pledge that "Zimbabwe emerged out of the legacies of a war" and through bloodshed. [8] In this case, if the nation state views itself as emerging from a war, what this implies is that we must then consider all experiences of that war credited for its founding as subjects of full historical enquiries. Borrowing from anthropologists, Liisa Malkki[9] and Anne Stoler,[10] such legacies like the refugees are "objects of knowledge" of knowing that particular nation state and its relationships with others in the global community of nations. In other words, they are "interlocutors" to the history of the war and the nation itself.

Secondly, my argument also arose from making general comparisons of refugees as a category of Zimbabwe's struggles for liberation and others that also emerged out of it. Furthermore, the history of Zimbabwe's struggle for independence occupies a position associated with "sacredness." Within that sacred history, actors such as the former nationalist

[8] 'Mugabe: We shed a lot of blood for this country', *News 24 archives*, 17 June 2008 and Ngoni Marongwe, 'Rural women as the invisible victims of militarised political violence: the case of Shurugwi district, Zimbabwe' Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2011. This same idea was also immortalised in songs such as Chitungwiza Mbira Unity's 'Zimbabwe yakauya nehondo', which was adopted as background music to many Zimbabwe Broadcasting Cooperation (ZBC)'s Television Programs and the Schools National Pledge.

[9] Liisa L Malkki, 'Refugees and Exile: Form "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995), pp 595-523. Accessed on https://www.jstor.org/stable/2155947 on 1 August 2018

[10] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense*, (Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford, 2008), p 20

leaders and the war veterans are revered within the same sacredness. Such reverence towards these two groups tends to downgrade the histories of other categories to illegitimate and less significant statuses. When these other groups were continuously pushed towards the centre of Zimbabwe's continued regeneration of its wartime histories, refugees were moving towards the periphery, the archive. These regenerated representations refer to the increase in importance accorded to the history of Zimbabwe's struggle since the turn of the 21st Century by the state. Ever since the appearance on Zimbabwe's historical landscape of this regenerated brand of history codenamed patriotic history by historian Terrence Ranger,[11] the experiences of war veterans and nationalists have become permanent features in the country's various spheres of representation.[12]

Whilst this thesis does not aim to examine the patriotic or unpatriotic nature of histories due to problems related to subjectification[13], it is nevertheless, concerned with the positive consideration of refugees in the domain of those considered by Lomsky-Feder as ones that are useful to "the national project."[14] In fact, by adding the word positive to Lomsky-Feder's original assertion, the argument that I am proposing here broadens her conception. Linked to my earlier argument of refugee histories as confined to the domain of the archive, all memories are useful to the nation. This usefulness can be interpreted in terms of either being positive or negative and this largely depends on the purpose of their retrieval by the concerned nation state. In other words, the same memories can be retrieved to achieve purposes that have negative or positive implications to the concerned people.

However, apart from the positivity and negativity differences, the only dissimilarity between these two types of memories is that it is the former that is adequately represented in the various spheres of representation. In this case, to a people who experienced an event that was not of their own making like refugees, some kind of leverage in representation inadequacies can be attained if their memories are also invoked and appropriated by the state for good intentions. However, for the former Zimbabwean refugees of the war, there has been no

[11] Terrence Ranger, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 30, Number 2 (June 2004), pp 215-234

[12] By various forms of representation, I refer to the publication of these category in the media both print and visual as well as in films and songs.

[13] Examining histories from the perspective of patriotism or lack of it entails the subjectification of the concerned phenomena to such notions and thereby erasing all possibilities of objective examination.

[14] E Lomsky-Feder, 'Life Stories, War, and Veterans: On the Social Distribution of Memories', *Ethos*, Vol. 32, Number 1 (March, 2004), pp 82-109. Accessed on www.jstor.org/stable/3651888 on the 1st of June 2017

comprehension of such an aspiration in the post-colonial nation state's representation framework. Instead, former refugees in post-Independence have degenerated into that category whose wartime experiences entail that they cannot lay claim to the proceeds of the national estate.

In making the above claim, my observation is buttressed by an incident that transpired on one of those rare occasions when refugee memories had to be retrieved from the peripheries for propagation at a "public commemorative" platform. On the eve of the 2016 Heroes' Day commemorations, the then Zimbabwean Military commander, General Constantino Guvheya Chiwenga, reminded former refugees of their boundaries in debates on both the liberation war history and state governance. Using words that raise questions about whether former refugees now constituted a threat to the nation state's peace and security or not, Chiwenga emphatically stated that:

> Many of those who did not make it to Zimbabwe were the real fighters and some of the celebrated cowards who only saw the border when going into Mozambique and coming back at Independence and never during combat. *Ndivo vaakuzviisa pamberi manje* (they are now claiming glory). This nonsense of someone who was at a refugee camp or was a cleaner moving around telling people that he or she fought in the struggle is just that- nonsense. *Wakarwa hondo kupi*? (Where did you fight in the war?)[15]

Whereas General Chiwenga was entitled to his own opinion, this thesis argues that although refugees might not have fought in the war in a manner that conforms to his own definition of fighting, he was in fact, participating in the production of a narrow form of the history of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war. By insinuating that refugees "did not fight in the war", the General's sentiment was an attempt to instil notions of legitimacy and illegitimacy on groups produced by the liberation war through drawing from a narrow version of the war's history, one that does not pay attention to how groups produced by the struggle interlinked with the history of the same struggle. This resulted in refugees appearing in Chiwenga's forms of historical interpretations as a delegitimised group undeserving of inheriting anything beneficial, either political or economic, from the national estate. However, despite Chiwenga's actions constituting forms of historical and representational exclusions, his sentiments are nevertheless, important in the current discussion on why rewriting post-

[15] M Sasa and T Farawo, 'General Chiwenga fires warning shots', *The Sunday Mail*, 7 August 2016 and R Chidza, 'Chiwenga takes aim at G40', *Newsday*, 8 August 2016

colonial historical representations is necessary. This is because they raise questions on the ideological shifts that took place in terms of refugee considerations from the 1980 position that both Mugabe and Mahachi had presented in which former refugees were depicted as central to national plans. They also call upon us to question why such tensions among former categories of the war are now arising in interpreting struggle legacies. More so, the same actions also question whether these forms of contemporary tensions characterised by attempts to exclude refugees from discourses of the nation state are justified by the struggle's history or not. I address some of these misrepresentations by posing questions, in the course of the thesis, on justifications of notions of postcolonial exclusion proposed in sentiments of people like Chiwenga on refugees.

To conclude this section, the main argument of this thesis is that whilst it is necessary for nations coming out of anti-colonial struggles to produce celebratory histories about their 'liberation' achievements, there is also a need to think about the meaning of such wars to the generality of the populace. The thesis suggests that there is a need to produce historical knowledge about the experiences of refugees [people who had to flee from the violence of the war]. Furthermore, apart from dealing with the main research question about what were peoples' experiences on the impact of displacement during Zimbabwe's war of liberation, the thesis will also attempt to answer a number of subset questions. These are: how was the notion of "refugee" constructed during and after Zimbabwe's war of liberation? What coping strategies did displaced people develop in areas (in and outside of Zimbabwe) where they settled during the war? What are displaced people's perceptions and memories of the war of liberation? How were the displaced people constituted as political subjects during the war? How were "refugee" identities shaped and reconstructed by sites such as camps during the war? How have the nation state's ideologies approached and shaped the production of "refugee histories"?

1.2 Historical representations: purposes

As human beings, we talk about representation in everyday life. We sometimes ask people to represent us and we also represent others.[16] There are also those in leadership positions who claim to represent people who are under them. At the end of this all, there are questions on

[16] S Hall, 'Introduction', in Stuart Hall (eds), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London: Sage Publications, 1997), p 3

the adequacy and inclusiveness of such representations. This assertion is also true in thinking about why aspects of representation matters in the writing of histories pertaining to refugees created by phenomena such as a liberation struggle.

In line with the above, this thesis is premised on the basis that refugee life as lived experience also deserves representations that give informed dimensions on how it was like to experience such a life. For this kind of framing, the thesis draws its key insights from assertions that were made by historians such as Samuel Hayat, F.R Ankersmit, Leonard Kriger, Hayden White, Jöhn Rüsen and A Munslow[17] on inclusive representations as well as the role and goals of history as a subject of inquiry in representing phenomena.

Although inclusivity and what should be the role of history in representations of phenomena are central to the respective works of the above historians, the important ideas postulated in their works were not referred to when wartime legacies were being constructed as history. Most of the historical productions made to date on such legacies were only concerned with the question of who contributed the most in that struggle. Not much focus was channelled towards questions of what happened during the course of that war. For instance, when refugees appeared in such productions, they did so in the form of what Josiah Brownell referred to in his critique of post war Zimbabwean demographic literature as "naked numbers inserted into the text with little explanation as to their significance".[18] This meant that the representation of refugees' in such productions, both literally and visual, was done within the framework of what Samuel Hyatt refers to as exclusive and not inclusive representation. Writing on why representations ought to take an inclusive instead of exclusive form, Hyatt stated that what needs to be considered is that:

> Exclusive representation assumes that the represented are absent, made present exclusively through the person of the representative. Inclusive representation on the

[17] S Hall, 'Introduction', Samuel Hayat, 'La representation inclusive' *Raisons Politiques* Vol.2 Number 50 (2013), pp. 115-135, F. R Ankersmit, 'Historical Representations', *History and Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Oct., 1988), pp. 205-228, L Krieger, *Ranke: The Meaning of History*, (University of Chicago: Chicago, 1977, H White, 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 7, No. 1, On Narrative (Autumn, 1980), pp. 5-27. Downloaded from Jstor URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/1343174 Accessed on the 27 of June 2017, J Rüsen, *History: Narration- Interpretation-Orientation*, (Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 2005), p 1 and A Munslow, *Deconstructing history*, (Routledge: London and New York, 1997), p 37

[18] J Brownell, *The collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race*, (Palgrave Macmillan: United States and Canada, 2001), p 20

other hand, is measured by the fact that it motivates those represented to participate directly.[19]

Thus, with reference to histories of refugees in post-colonial Zimbabwe, this thesis argues that approaches to history whereby the idea of the inclusiveness of representation is accorded very little consideration in writings of a history regarded as central to the making of the nation state is problematic. Apart from excluding the refugees from participating directly in discourses of legacies that concerns them, such approaches make it difficult for there to be an understanding of the totality of such an important struggle and historical event. Such an impetus also resulted in histories seen as not directly linked to the liberating aspect being either negated or silenced. When this happened, it was regardless of the fact that every piece of historical data is important in providing detailed illustrations of how such a history had unfolded. The Zimbabwean war history culminated in a situation where very little was written about what and who was a refugee in the war of liberation. As a result, the experiences of that past can neither inform the present's dealings with recurrences of similar phenomenon nor those of the future. On a broader perspective, this also meant that history as a subject matter negated its key mandate of providing "orientation" to other disciplines that draw "insights" from it.[20]

On the other hand, considering that refugees are a global phenomenon that speaks to various issues important to the well-being of humanity such as human rights, security, peace, and development, the representation of resultant histories thereby becomes critical. Since the refugees discussed in this thesis were a result of an event justified as 'liberation war', historical knowledge about their case becomes very important. In fact, their case presents a chance to examine what Charles Mulinda referred to as the "rationalities"[21] or reasons that were behind the creation of refugees in such justified wars. It further present opportunities for one to examine the identities created within those refugee situations as well as to explore the multiple dimensions of the phenomenon. Lastly, this also creates opportunities to study the

[19] Samuel Hayat, 'La representation inclusive' *Raisons Politiques* Vol.2 Number 50 (2013), pp. 115-135

[20] My argument here is derived from A Budd 'Preface' in Adam Budd (eds) *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources* (Routledge: London and New York, 2009), p xiii who stated that "History is to the humanities and social Sciences what mathematics is to the natural sciences- we all draw on its insights even when we don't call ourselves historians."

[21] C. K Mulinda 'A Space for Genocide: Local Authorities, Local Population and Local Histories in Gishamvu and Kibayi (Rwanda)' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2010

meaning of liberation from the perspective of the war's passive participants such as these refugees.

This thesis is premised on assumptions that a more inclusive and analytical history of refuge as a phenomenon as well as more historical knowledge about it can only be attained through accepting the fact that it must also be representative of refugee narratives. It is therefore a step forward towards the inclusion of refugees into a history that Ranger referred to as one "which they must necessarily reveal, like everyone else".[22] It is such an inclusion and graduation that will contribute to the production of historical knowledge about the refugees' experiences during the liberation war. I engage with this task of reinserting them in mainstream history by dealing with their case from three perspectives. The first involves the aspect of removing them from their current peripheral role to main actors of that history. I follow this by adopting a delimitation exercise whereby I separate the notion of refugees from that of recruits. I conclude by constructing a history of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war that shows the broadness of the phenomenon as informed by their experiences of the war.

1.3 Refugees in Zimbabwean postcolonial histories

This thesis is about rewriting postcolonial historical representations of refugees in Zimbabwe's struggle for independence. In proposing to rewrite such histories, my work deals with what was not done by existing literature on the Zimbabwean struggle for liberation that should have been done to ensure in-depth and inclusive representations in the articulation of refugee matters. In thinking about what should be the basis of an informative and inclusive history of refugees, I borrowed ideas from other works that speak to the same issues of historicization and representation. In this regard, the respective works of Liisa Malkki, Terrence Ranger and Samuel Hyatt inform this thesis.

I also discuss other works of literature where refugees were mentioned or discussed. This has been done through placing the respective literature in the three categories that were created by Jackson following Braistow, based on how forms of post- colonial literature had interpreted Zimbabwe's struggle legacies. For Jackson, post-colonial literature on Zimbabwe's struggle legacies was comprised of:

[22] T Ranger 'Studying repatriation as part of African social History', in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD),1994), pp 279-294

> "a large body written by black African nationalist (and often communist) revolutionaries; an even larger body of literature by Rhodesian ex-military and government authors; and a relatively small body of objective work written for academic purposes

As Jackson further observed:

> "the first two categories show significant biases. The first leans towards the African insurgent where the authors downplayed any Rhodesian government successes and exaggerated insurgent successes. The second holds up the Rhodesian soldier as the pinnacle of soldiery virtue and at times, pines for the return of white minority rule in Southern Africa. The third made attempts to interpret the histories objectively." [23]

Of the literature, firstly, Malkki argued that there was need for practitioners alike to treat the refugee figure as an historical subject and not a "mute"[24] object. This proposition by Malkki had already been advocated for by Ranger in a paper that was developed from a presentation he had made at the 1991 UNSRID Harare symposium.[25] In that particular paper, Ranger argued for the need to treat the "specifics" of the "local" as a historical subject whose interactions and linkages with the national and the global was deserving of in-depth examinations.[26] Ranger challenged social history researchers on refugees to question themselves whether "refugee camps" did not "have" a "culture," a "tradition," and "intellectuals."[27] He argued that a social history researcher can derive substantial historical knowledge by according the refugee the status of a "local intellectual."[28] More so, just like

[23] T Bainstow, 2006 cited in Paul Jackson, 'The civil war roots of military domination in Zimbabwe: the integration process following the Rhodesian wan and the road to ZANLA dominance, Unpublished paper, University of Birmingham, August 2011

[24] L. A Malkki 'Speechless Emissaries Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricisation', *Journal of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. II. No. 3 (August 1996)

[25] Year 1994 was the publication date for Ranger's paper. Terrence Ranger, 'Studying repatriation as part of African social History', in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD),1994), pp 279-294

[26] Terrence Ranger, Studying Repatriation

[27] Terrence Ranger, Studying Repatriation

[28] Terrence Ranger, Studying repatriation

Malkki and Ranger, Hyatt's ideas about inclusive representation also informed this study. According to him:

> What makes representation inclusive is not that representatives have been elected, that they resemble the represented or defend their interests, but rather that the represented appear directly on the public stage, that they pass judgement, express their will, dispute what is said and done in their name, and construct alternative institutions.[29]

Thus, in this thesis, Malkki, Ranger and Hyatt's works have been used as a yardstick to examine the existing gaps in the Zimbabwean refugee literature and for purposes of constructing a history of the struggle characterised by refugee interpretations.

However, although there are limited works that historicise refugees' experiences, traces on refugees are nevertheless found in general history books, research papers and biographies. In order to explain how this work attempts to transcend their limitations or build on their strengths, I analyse the contents of these documents in a chronological order, from the earliest to the present.

The first writers to alert us about the existence of Zimbabwe's wartime refugees as a category of the war were Lewis H Gann and Thomas H Henriksen in 1981,[30] David Martin and Phyllis Johnson in 1981[31] and Julia Frederikse in 1982.[32] However, none of these writers attempted to qualify or deconstruct the meaning of the refugee. Instead, their respective works made statements about refugees whose meaning deserve further historical scrutiny. For instance, in their engagement with the notion of refugees, Gann and Henriksen stated that they comprised of "old men, women and children" who sought "safety from the security forces in neighbouring countries or were abducted by the partisans either as means of recruits or as demonstration of the bankruptcy of the government's security."[33] Martin and Johnson also followed Gann and Henriksen's example by giving a clue on the existence of refugees in the neighbouring countries. On the other hand, Julia Frederikse also made a contribution to the

---

[29] S Hyatt 'La representation inclusive' *Raisons Politiques* Vol.2 Number 50 (2013), pp. 115-135

[30] Lewis H Gann and Thomas H Henriksen, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Battle in the Bush* (New York: Prager Publishers, 1981)

[31] David Martin and Phyllis Johnson, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War* (Johannesburg: Rang Publishers, 1981)

[32] Julia Frederikse, *None but Ourselves: Masses versus the Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe, 1982)

[33] Lewis H Gann and Thomas H Henriksen, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe,* p 79

Zimbabwean refugee discourse by mentioning them in her work which used media reports on the war. However, despite the fact that these authors only mentioned refugees in passing, the intention of this thesis is to build on the refugee mentions in their respective works by providing deeper details on how refugees experienced the war. Thus, in this regard my work is therefore an expansion of the openings made on the refugee notion through revealing the multiple dimensions not considered earlier.

The next historical work to mention or to deal with refugees of the Zimbabwean liberation war was that of Sister Janice McLaughlin.[34] Although this current study regards McLaughlin's work as the only one that was written for the purposes of documenting refugees' experiences, it is the manner in which she conceptualised the subject which will be addressed. Although the title of McLaughlin's paper "We did it for love," speaks to the issues that concerns refugees' experiences, the manner in which she constructed it indicates her own subjectivity and obsession with the grand idea of liberation. This resulted in her not examining the phenomena from what I argue as the perspective of its refugee sense. By constructing the title of her paper as "We did it for love,"[35] McLaughlin's paper falls short of the need to study the genealogy of the refugee problem in Zimbabwe's liberation war from the perspective of several reasons that could have caused it. In addition, she missed the multiple dimensions of what was entailed by that particular refugee phenomenon. To show that her analysis was inclined to the need to liberate the country as the main cause of the refugee problem, McLaughlin suggested that liberation movements were wholly in charge of the refugee camps in both Mozambique and Zambia.[36] Not only did her conceptualisation of the phenomena overlook a refugee host nation like Botswana, but it also underplays the role of those host nations that she mentioned. This thesis addresses the weaknesses in McLaughlin's conceptualisation and approach of the subject from the perspective of security and protection as key to the refugees' struggles and not liberation. This thesis argues that the need for protection and security were the main reasons behind the rise of Zimbabwe's liberation war refugee problem. Liberation consciousness among the refugees might have arisen at a later stage during the course of their experiences. However, from an analytical

[34] J McLaughlin, MM, '"We did it for love" Refugees and Religion in the Camps in Mozambique and Zambia during Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle', in Carl Hallencreutz and Ambrose Moyo (eds), *Church and State in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1988), pp 127-145

[35] J. McLaughlin, '"We did it for Love"

[36] J. McLaughlin, '"We did it for Love"

point of view, the same concerns that I have for McLaughlin's work are similar to those of Fay Chung, who also wrote about refugees in 1989.[37]

My concern with issues of approach and conceptualisation noted from all works that I have critiqued so far are the same with the next set of writers, Stella Makanya and Jeremy Jackson. Both Makanya and Jackson presented their papers at the same UNSRID conference with Terrance Ranger. However, Makanya's limitation stemmed from her suggestion that she had problems with the wartime "categorization of exiles into political refugees, freedom fighters and civilians fleeing from war" separately because "in many cases, the three groups were" driven by one motive.[38] This assertion is problematic because it does not address key issues and questions on the causes of refugee situations and resultant coping strategies.

Other points of weakness in Makanya's work arose from her approach to narrow the dynamisms of a subject such as refugees by suggesting that political parties "enjoyed a higher level of control of the refugees" and that there was a "lower level of integration between Zimbabweans and host communities".[39] While such suggestions reflect her own observations, the question that was not answered was that of the position of the international community and host nations in such interplay. In addition, such observations do not shed light on how dominance was achieved in the camps, especially when given contestations around issues of political party affiliation in refugee camps. For instance, Abel Muzorewa, one of the key players in Zimbabwe's struggle histories was once quoted complaining about ill-treatment of refugees purportedly affiliated to his organisation in refugee camps.[40]In this case, Makanya's histories centred on notions of strong political party control do not shed light on feelings of such refugees to those control systems. Against this background, this thesis approaches the Zimbabwean refugees of the war subject matter from a methodological approach different from Makanya's. It does this by constructing a history driven by multiple narratives of people who experienced the event.

---

[37] F Chung, 'Education with Production before and after Independence', in Canaan S Banana (eds), *Turmoil and Tenacity*: *Zimbabwe 1890-1990,* (Harare: The College Press, 1989), pp 211-224

[38] Stella T Makanya, 'The desire to return'

[39] Stella T Makanya, 'The desire to return'

[40] British Broadcasting News clip 'Rhodesia in Brief', National Archives of Zimbabwe Records File MS 308/29/4)

The same observation on Makanya's work above also applies to that of Jeremy Jackson, who also presented a paper at the same UNSRID conference mentioned above. Although Jackson used two "returnees' oral testimonies",[41] his study was limited because his sample size was not broad enough to provide answers to questions about the variation of refugees' experiences. Thus, just like in the indication given on how this work addresses the limitations of Makanya's work, the same is also done to Jackson's work through grounding the research in communities that provided large numbers of people who became refugees during the war.

Paulos Matjaka Nare[42] is also another author who also dealt with one aspect of refugees' experiences like Fay Chung mentioned above. Both authors examined refugee within the thematic area of refugees and education. The only difference was that Matjaka-Nare wrote about the ZAPU section of the war whilst Chung had premised hers on the ZANU one. Nare, like Chung, confined his discussions on the subject matter of education in the camps and did not go beyond the parameters of that theme. This work however seeks to transcend Nare's work by not confining itself to a singular thematic experience.

Historian Ngwabi Bhebe also mentioned refugees in his work.[43] The idea behind Bhebe's work was the need to address questions of representation in post war Zimbabwean historical literature.[44] For Bhebe, his concern was "the way only the ZANU side of the struggle was unfolding while the ZAPU side remained an almost completely uncharted territory."[45] The title of his book which mentioned ZAPU first[46] was indicative of his desire to address the representational problems existing in Zimbabwean liberation war historical literature whereby ZANU histories are always given first preference ahead of those of ZAPU. Therefore, for this current study, Bhebe's work is important in that its intention was to write an inclusive history of the liberation war.

---

[41] Jeremy Jackson, 'Repatriation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe' in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994) pp 126-166

[42] P Matjaka Nare Education and the War' in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (eds), *Society in Zimbabwe's liberation War*, (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995) pp 130-138

[43] N Bhebe, *The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe*, (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 2000)

[44] N Bhebe, *The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare,* p vii

[45] N Bhebe, *The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare,* p vii

[46] N Bhebe, *The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare*

Josephine Nhongo-Simbanegavi's book on the role of women during the liberation struggle published in 2000[47] provides an excellent dimension of wartime refugees. In fact, Nhongo-Simbanegavi's account can be interpreted as challenging Makanya's earlier assertion of low-level interactions between locals and refugee communities. A case in point for this assertion is her story of Mushonga, a guerrilla fighter whose wife, a refugee, was impregnated by Katsoke, a Mozambican whilst he was at the battle front. [48] Thus, as an extension to Nhongo-Simbanegavi's work, this study, questions the context in which such relationships were conceived given the assertions of low levels of integration and the higher degree of discipline in the camps as Makanya hinted.

After Nhongo-Simbanegavi's historical work, the next that also invoked issues related to refugees is that of Zvakanyorwa Sadomba.[49] Written during the height of Zimbabwe's controversial land reform program in 2008, Sadomba also did not produce a history that can be construed as real refugee discourse as required by the inclusive representation framework argued for by Hyatt. In fact, his study was almost autobiographical as it contained details of his experiences as a veteran of the Zimbabwean struggle. Thus, in terms of the refugee question, it did not give much insight into the experiences of such an individual. Instead, like Makanya, Sadomba made suggestions dispelling what he said was an inappropriate usage of the refugee terminology on people who were categorised as such during the Zimbabwean struggle.[50] For Sadomba, his preferred term was "recruits,"[51] meaning that their presence in a foreign space had been influenced by a desire to join the war and not to flee from it. Such assumptions negate the broadness of the refugee question as entailed by the various reasons that led to people contemplating such a life.

In terms of approach, Heike Schmidt's[52] publication that came out after that of Sadomba is one which this thesis aims to emulate. Like her, this thesis drew its respondents from the

[47] J Nhongo-Simbanegavi, *For better or worse* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000)

[48] J Nhongo-Simbanegavi, *For better or worse* pp 65-66

[49] Z. W Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's revolution*

[50] Z. W Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's revolution*

[51] Z. W Sadomba, *War Veterans in Zimbabwe's revolution*

[52] H Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A history of Suffering*' (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2013)

same district of Mutasa where she conducted the fieldwork. Schmidt's reference to refugees contributed to the selection of the same district as one of the case areas for this study. Because the district is located on the border with Mozambique where acts of insurgencies and counter insurgencies took place, many people were destabilised by the intensity of the war. Schmidt's work also introduced the notion of people who self-settled as refugees in Mozambique during the war.[53] Thus, apart from emulating her work, this study will go deeper by providing more details on the histories of the refugees from Mutasa district. For example, my study will built up on the insights that she provided what I refer to as the internal equivalent of the external refugee camps, the Protected Villages (PVs) or the Keeps.[54] This thesis expands on Heike Schmidt's work on protected villages by depicting them as zones that contributed in the shaping of the refugee notion. While Schmidt relied on the narratives of one family to shape her understanding of the refugee notion, this thesis expands this approach through using multiple narratives of people who were refugees during the war so as to create broader understandings of what was entailed by the event.

Further in this issue of refugee representations that this thesis is rewriting, it is important to refer to the latest respective works of Nathaniel Kinsley Powell[55] and Clinarete Victoria Luis Munguambe.[56] Powell's paper is a history of the UNHCR as a humanitarian agency during the liberation war from 1975 to 1980. On the other hand, Munguambe's is about the solidarity between the liberation movements of FRELIMO and ZANU. From an analytical point of view, whilst Powell's paper is grounded in refugee studies, there are also instances whereby it failed to debunk certain myths still existing in representations on the experiences of refugees. The Nyadzonia camp bombing as well as the differences between military and refugee camps are examples where Powell interpreted the unfolding of events through the voices of people who were not there. One of his sources was Hugo Idoyoga, then "UNHCR's representative in Mozambique".[57] Munguambe also makes the same oversight by claiming

[53] H Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe*

[54] H Schmidt, *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe*

[55] N K Powell, 'The UNCHR and the Zimbabwean Refugees in Mozambique, 1975-1980', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, (2013), pp 1-25

[56] C. V Munguambe, 'Nationalism and Exile in an Age of Solidarity: Frelimo-ZANU relations in Mozambique (1975-1980)', *Journal of Southern African Studies,* Vol. 43, No. 1 (2017), pp 161-178

[57] N. K Powell, 'The UNCHR and the Zimbabwean Refugees in Mozambique'

that FRELIMO surrendered the administration of refugees to ZANU in 1978.[58] As I argue in this thesis, such a transfer of responsibilities was impossible given the fact that there was no certainty as to when the war was going to end. Furthermore, as Chapter 6 of this thesis will show, the manner in which FRELIMO tightened its grip on refugees' administration from 1978 going onwards also dispels Munguambe's assertions. In transcending the perceptions of both Powell and Munguambe, this study argued that we can only get richer interpretations of events by incorporating the voices of those who were involved.

However, before concluding the summation of existing historical literature on Zimbabwean refugees of the war, it is important to mention the works produced by supporters of the former Rhodesian regime in independent Zimbabwe. Most of these writers were former service men of the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF). This literature started appearing on the historical literature landscape between the years 2008 and 2011, around the same time as Sadomba and Mhanda's works.[59] However, the reason why there was no attempt to situate them within the chronological analysis of literature is that most of them referred to the refugee question in just one incident, the bombing of the Nyadzonia Camp. This could be interpreted as justification for attacks on refugee camps rather than literature aimed at inclusive representation of refugees as advocated for in this current study. Thus, like the other set of postcolonial historical literature, the issue of what was implied by refugees' experiences was inadequately tackled. By focusing on one discursive element of refugees and the camp, the pro Rhodesia literature was suggesting the camp as the only space where refugees resided during the war. However, as the narratives that anchor this study will show, the variations appearing in refugee histories were so broad that the phenomena cannot be narrowed to the space of the camp alone. One such issue is that of refugees who settled in Mozambican villages and not the refugee camps. Their experiences were largely shaped by interactions with all the military forces who were involved in both the Rhodesian and Mozambican conflict namely: the guerrillas fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe; FRELIMO, Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO); and the Rhodesian Security

[58] C.V Munguambe, 'Nationalism and Exile'

[59] Examples of such writings include, P Moorcraft and P McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War: Fifty years on* (Bernsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2015), pp 44, 135 and 155., J R T Wood, *Counter-Strike from the Sky: The Rhodesian All-Arms Fire force in the war in the Bush 1974-1980*, (South Africa: 30º South Publishers, 2009), pp 123 and 159 and I Pringle, *Operation Dingo Firestorm: The greatest battle of the Rhodesian Bush War* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2012), pp 80-81. Even though Moorcraft and McLaughlin's work was first published in 1982, its editions were made in 2008 and 2015.

Forces (RSF). This was in addition to their daily interactions with their Mozambican host villagers.

1.4 Other perspectives

Whilst I have dwelt on explaining cases where refugees were mentioned in liberation war literature and the limitations that exists in some of the literature that dealt with the subject in much detail it is important to note that this thesis also draws lessons from similar historicising works in the global sphere, such as that of Randy Lippert and Philip Marflet on refugees. Lippert's work was on the genealogy of the refugee as a global humanitarian case in the world. [60] On the other hand, Marflet's work was based on the need to seriously consider historicising refugees. [61] Lippert's history on how the present-day dispensation of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) came to be, demonstrates the importance of humanitarianism histories, which denote the care of refugees in such analysis. In this case, the broader lesson derived from Lippert's work is that one cannot claim to have written a detailed history of refugees' experiences without analysing that of the humanitarian agencies involved with them. This thesis follows Lippert's example by tracing the role of humanitarian agencies involved in the Zimbabwean refugees of the war crises, starting from that point when the term refugee was first applied to define Rhodesian citizens fleeing from the effects of the war in the then Rhodesia.

The thesis also draws insights from other refugee history works conducted on cases such as the South East Asian refugee phenomenon in the 1970s. Classic examples that inspired this work were those done by practitioners such as Joana C. Scott, John Tenhula, James M Freeman and Robert Proudfoot.[62] Of particular importance was their prioritisation of the refugee figure as the main actor of his or her historical actions. The interesting part of the refugees these writers historicised was that by the time their respective researches were

---

[60] Randy Lippert, 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (July-Sept. 1999) pp. 295-328.

[61] Philip Marflet 'Refugees and history: Why we must address the past' *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2007), pp. 136-148 accessed from the internet on the 31st of August 2015 from http://dx.doi.org/10.1093/rsq/hdi0248

[62] Robert S Newman, 'Objectivity and Subjectivities: Oral Narratives from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam' *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (Winter 1993), pp 89-97 accessed from the internet, URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/3675023 on the 31st of August 2015

conducted, the refugees had been resettled in the United States of America for a considerable amount of time. Therefore, the key lesson is the possibility to historicise refugees' experiences post the event that uprooted them. This is in addition to their example of using oral history as a research methodology in the historicization process.

On the African continent, the respective works of Christian Williams[63] and Vilho Shigwedha[64] are two key history studies that also form part of the body of historical literature informing this current study. Both Williams and Shigwedha focus on Namibia, and like this current study, look at the people displaced by the struggle of liberation. More so, in privileging the people who experienced the histories of their inquiries, both Williams and Shigwedha's respective works speak to the theme advocated for in this current study, which is inclusive representation through participation of the actors of the event as suggested by Hyatt.

Williams was concerned with the exiles' interpretation of Namibia's national history. He discovered that whilst a site such as Cassinga acquired a status whereby it became the focal point of accepted history of Namibians' resistance to colonial rule, others such as Lubango became focal points whereby Namibians alleged to have been spies produce a counter narrative that challenges Namibia's national history.[65] Williams carried out an ethnographic study of the camps used by the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) during the struggle for Namibia. This was supported by extensive oral history interviews with Namibians who lived in exile during their country's struggle for liberation.

Shigwedha's work focused on how the survivors of the Cassinga attacks are modelled into 'living testimonies' of the massacres. As Shigwedha discovered, such modelling results in "one survivor" being "delegated to unpack on behalf of other survivors, 'Memories of Cassinga' so that the inexperienced audience understands what happened on that day." For this, Shigwedha wanted to know:

[63] Christian A. Williams, 'Exile History: An Ethnography of the SWAPO Camps and the Namibian Nation', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009.

[64] Vilho Amukwaya Shigwedha, Enduring Suffering: The Cassinga Massacre of Namibian Exiles in 1978 and the Conflicts between Survivors Memories and Testimonies', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2011.

[65] Christian Williams, 'Exile History: An Ethnography of the SWAPO Camps and the Namibian Nation'

> "how such presentations epitomise actual memories of the Cassinga massacre and how is it possible for such presentation to generate senses of remembrances and forgetfulness of those who did not experience that traumatic event."

Shigwedha also used the oral narratives of people who survived a bombing incident during the same conflict to reconstruct his story.

Apart from reflecting the critical issues of inclusive and participatory representation, there are other insights that Williams and Shigwedha's respective works instilled in this study. For instance, whereas these two scholars' focus was on camps inhabited by displaced Namibians, this thesis also followed their example by seeking to understand life in the camps as well as the interactions that existed between people categorised as refugees and guerrillas. The only difference between their respective works and the current one is that they approach the subject from the perspective of exiles while this study looks at them from the perspective of actual war refugees. For them, exiles imply every Namibian who lived outside the country's borders during that country's struggle. This is different from this current one which focuses on refugees as people who fled the country and lived at sites and spaces designated for refugee purposes without necessarily intending to participate in the struggle. The study separates guerrillas and political actors from refugees. It views the linkages between the different groups as producing a kind of history whose meanings must be interrogated especially in attempts to understand refugees' experiences.

1.5 Time frames

Although the aim of this thesis is not to rewrite a general history of the Zimbabwean struggle for liberation, a historical background is important considering that the refugees under concern are a product of that history. There is need to think of refugees as a category emerging from a progression of issues or a sequence of occurrences and not an eruption. A synopsis of such histories points to the origins of the struggle in Rhodesia and questions of representation in relationship to contemporary writings of the history of that struggle. In asserting that the origins of the struggle in Rhodesia are located in representation, my argument is substantiated by observations by Terrence Ranger, Brian Raftopolous and Alois Mlambo, whose respective works presented synopsises of the origins of the struggle in Rhodesia. Firstly, in presenting his argument on the struggle in Rhodesia around the 1960s,

Ranger noted that the Africans' struggles of that time were characterised by "politics of participation"[66]more than actual calls to assume total power. Ranger's observations were also noted by Raftopolous and Mlambo who referred to the politics of that period as characterised by "calls for a fairer colonial government"[67] more than attempts at an overthrow.

Relatedly, in presenting a genealogical history of the struggle, this section seeks to demonstrate that the task of studying refugees, purportedly belonging to a liberation struggle period, requires initial provision of explanations to questions of why liberation, who was being liberated, why were other countries involved and when do we start seeing the appearance of refugees in these events. For Southern Rhodesia, Rhodesia and Zimbabwe thereafter, the dual questions of why liberation and who was to be liberated has its roots in how the country had conceptualised itself as a nation state.

Like most countries on the African continent, the contention that the idea of Zimbabwe as nation state was a "colonial invention" is without dispute. Before 1890, the entire landscape that later became Zimbabwe, was composed of several ethnic groupings who did not think of themselves as belonging to a unitary nation. However, through colonialism, by 1898, the whole landscape had been carved into a single entity known as Southern Rhodesia, with well-defined boundaries. To achieve this, the colonisers who were European in origin, British by nationality and white in race, used a combination of trickery and violence to force the distinctly black ethnic groupings occupying various parts of what then became Southern Rhodesia to submission.

By 1923, Southern Rhodesia had become a self-governing British colony with the white people whose population numbers constituted a minority presiding over the defeated blacks, the majority. Problems only started bedevilling Southern Rhodesia in the early 1960s when Britain rejected demands by Southern Rhodesia's rulers for the independence of Southern Rhodesia to be continuously led by whites. In 1965, Ian Douglas Smith in his capacity as the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, representing white interests, unilaterally declared

[66] Terrence Ranger, *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with Nationalism* (James Currey: Woodbridge, Suffolk; Weaver Press: Harare, Zimbabwe, 2013)

[67] A.S Mlambo, 'From the Second World to UDI, 1940-1965' in Brian Raftopolous and A.S Mlambo (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A History from precolonial period to 2008* (Weaver Press: Harare, Zimbabwe, 2012), pp 75-114

Southern Rhodesia as independent Rhodesia.[68] In response to that development, which came to be known as the Unilateral Declaration of Independence (UDI), Britain reported its former colony, Southern Rhodesia to the UN.[69] In response, the UN imposed sanctions on the rebel colony. While these political developments were taking place, Africans in Southern Rhodesia decided to shift the struggle from the politics of representation to liberation after a realisation that the granting of their demands for both participation in the governance of the nation and fairer colonial governance[70] was impossible.[71] By the time when UDI took place, political decisions to resort to the armed struggle as a means of attaining such liberation had been adopted.

However, concerning the relationship between the events in Southern Rhodesia and similar ones on the African continent in the 1960s, a significant process by countries that attained their independence earlier resulted in the formation of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU). After its formation, the OAU made a decision to support other African countries to attain their independence. In Southern Rhodesia, the OAU offered its support to the struggle as early as 1965 after 35 African countries reported the conflict to the "the UN Security council" arguing that the situation presented a threat to international peace and security. Later, when the struggle in Rhodesia became physical through military engagements, the OAU actively supported the endeavour.[72] As this study will demonstrate, the OAU also became actively involved in matters of refugees and enacted a charter that specifically mentioned what was to be done with them.

The OAU reported affairs that were beyond its resolve to the United Nations (UN), a body representing a global community of nations. Just like the OAU which supported the African struggles for independence, the UN offered its support thereby acknowledging the underlying

[68] Carl Peter Watts, *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence: An International History*, (Palgrave Macmillan: New York, 2012), p 1

[69]Carl Peter Watts, *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence,* p 195

[70] T. O Ranger, *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1930*, (Heinemann Educational Books: London, 1970), p 101. See also Alois Mlambo, 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in Brian Raftopolous and Alois Mlambo (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A history from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008* (Weaver Press: Harare, 2009), p 85

[71]Alois Mlambo' From the Second World War' and Peter Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980* (Galago Publishing: South Africa, 1999), pp 349-51

[72] Carl Peter Watts *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence*, p. 193 and Peter Baxter, *Rhodesia: Last Outpost*, p 351

injustice of the conflict considering that the independence sought by Southern Rhodesian from Britain, did not consider the black population. However, for the refugees under consideration, this meant that they also became a priority subject of these organisations. As a result, the history of refugees as proposed in this thesis, will not be complete without providing a historical background on how other nations and global organisations came to be involved in conceptualisation of refugees that were produced by the Rhodesian conflict.

1.6 The UN, OAU and Southern Rhodesian refugees

In the history of its inception as a global body, refugees have always been a subject matter of concern to the UN. Whereas the UN's concern with refugees was based on humanitarianism, they also did not want such humanitarianism to be accidental. Accidental humanitarianism implies a situation whereby acts of humanitarianism are applied without knowing the beneficiaries of that assistance. In fact, as an organisation, the UN has a long history of assisting refugees Worldwide. Such history is important in analysing how Southern Rhodesian refugees constituted a category deserving consideration as refugees.

In the entire history of the UN, the most important document that delimits refugees is the UNHCR charter promulgated in 1951. It is in this charter that the UN delimits or defines a refugee as a person who seeks sanctuary in another country after fleeing from his or her own due to well-founded fears of persecution.[73] This definition was arrived at after a series of other attempts. According to Lippert, the term "refugee" that came to be used by the UN as a working word to define the migratory trends of such people, has its origins in the 17th century French State where it was used to define people fleeing from the forced conversion policies of that state.[74]

As Lippert further illustrated, concern for refugees arose in Europe when there was a crisis of hordes of people who had been rendered stateless in 1921 by a decree passed by the Soviet Union's all Russia Central Executive Committee. That decree had "revoked citizenship" for people who had either resided outside or had left Russia after November 1917."[75] This

[73] David W Kennedy, 'International Refugee Protection', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 8 No. 1 (1986), pp 1-69

[74] Randy Lippert, 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime'

[75] Randy Lippert, 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime'

necessitated an inter-organisational gathering to deal with the matter. The "International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the League of Red Cross Societies" convened the gathering. However, it was during the meeting's proceedings that a decision to create an "office of the High Commissioner for Refugees" that was supposed to operate "under the League of Nations" was taken. Equally important, the same gathering also made a decision to offer a passport known as a "Nansen Passport or certificate" to the affected "Russians who had no identity documents and were being refused entry by other nations." Besides these key events, other developments that took place within the global endeavour to deal with refugee problems before the UNCHR came into effect in 1951 included the "Inter-Governmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR)" and the "International Refugee Organisation (IRO)."[76]Thus basically, by 1951, for the UN, refugees were a properly constituted category.

On the other hand, when the OAU was formed as a continental body, it also promulgated its own refugees' charter largely cloned from that of the UN.[77] However, despite the similarities, the OAU charter had a unique feature that specifically outlined its endeavour to avoid refugees falling into the realm of accidental humanitarianism. The OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa was consistent in this assertion by stating that: "the term refugee, shall apply to every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order in either part or whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality."[78] As a result, when the conflict in Rhodesia escalated, both the OAU and UN became responsible for more than 200 000 people who fled Rhodesia to reside in member states.[79] As part of the history of refugees emphasised in this thesis, I will discuss how failure by these organisations to stick to their written rules, especially on guerrilla refugees' interactions, resulted in Rhodesian refugees remaining in the domain of accidental humanitarianism.

[76] Randy Lippert, 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime'

[77] David Turton, 'Conceptualising Migration', *RSC* Working Paper No. 12 (2003)

[78] See Article 1.2 of the OAU Convention Governing Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa

[79] Robert F. Gorman, *Great Debates at the United Nations: An Encyclopaedia of Fifty Key Issues, 1945-2000* (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 2001), 172

1.7 Theoretical Framework

As the working title for this study suggests, this thesis is a historical rewriting exercise. It questions deficiencies and misrepresentations of wartime refugees in post-independence Zimbabwe's sphere of historical representation. With rewriting as a focus, its aim is to construct a history based on how the notion of a refugee evolved as a category within the anticolonial struggle narrative. On a broader scale, the study is concerned with those narratives and debates about the nation, which we can generate through refugees as an analytical category to challenge publicised interpretations of struggle histories. The study advocates for the role multiple forms of history play in not only articulating the story of the nation but also in questioning what has been said in such histories. The theory of history underpinning this study is the creative tensions theory, which Frederick Cooper emphasised in his work on the role of labour in the decolonisation struggles of Francophone Africa.[80] Just like the manner in which this current study questions why presumed dominant narratives tend to submerge minor ones, Cooper's problem was also on dominant movements insisting on subsuming others in articulating national stories.[81]

In advocating for tensions as a historical investigative framework, Cooper observed that there was a time when "issues and tensions in social and political movements that were important to confront" were revealed through debates that ensued between labour leaders who had different opinions.[82] When such a situation happens, as Cooper reckons, it materialises into a "creative tension and fruitful debate" from which history as a subject can benefit when studied.[83] Borrowing from Cooper, this study uses refugee narratives to flush out the tensions and debates that are useful in the quest to construct an in-depth Zimbabwe anticolonial struggle narrative.

Linked to the above, this thesis confronts historical incidences normally silenced due to fears that they will stroke tensions likely to trouble the health of the nation state. Due to this

[80] Frederick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa' in in Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), pp. 406- 435

[81] Frederick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa'

[82] Frederick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa'

[83] Frederick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa'

inclination, I deploy creative tensions theory in this thesis as a way of transcending frameworks that do not lead to histories that challenge official versions. Examples of stories that I discuss in this thesis that invoke tensions likely to trouble official versions, but are important in writing historical representations, include the earlier reference made to Chiwenga, [84]refugee camp attacks as well as questions posed on the wartime refugees' humanitarian regimes. The refugee attacks and questions on humanitarian regimes are discussed in Chapters five and six of this study. Through interrogating these incidents under the guidance of creative tensions theory, the thesis considered that these do not only cause debate about the history behind refugees and war veterans but cause us to think about them as analytical categories that can produce competing forms of history useful to the quest of understanding the totality of the national story.

Another theory that influenced my approach to this study and in a way comprehend the tenets of Cooper's creative tension theory especially on resisting notions of major and minor histories as well as in affirming the strategic nature of all histories was Walter Benjamin's historical materialism.[85] Benjamin developed his version of historical materialism theory from a similar one by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels.[86] In rejecting the historicism approach, Benjamin had noted that the disciples of this approach tended to empathise with the victorious actors in historical events.[87] As he observed, the type of history that emerges upon deployment of such theorisation was one that celebrates a "triumphal procession in which current rulers step over those who are lying prostrate" whilst carrying the spoils of such history, the "cultural treasures." However, when that happens, as Benjamin declared, what will be at stake is that these treasures which the elites want to possess for themselves, derive their:

[84] M Sasa and T Farawo, 'General Chiwenga fires warning shots'

[85] Details of Walter Benjamin's historical materialism theory appears in his last writing, the 'Theses On the Concept of History', see , Walter Benjamin, 'On the Concept of History' in Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings (eds) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 4, 1938-1940,* (Belknap Press of Howard University Press: United States, 2002) pp389- 400.

[86] For notes on the reformulation of historical materialism theory by Walter Benjamin in 1940, see, Michael Löwy, Walter Benjamin and Marxism, *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, Vol. 46, Issue Number 9 (February, 1995). Accessed from the internet, http://web.a.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.uct.ac.za/ehost/detail/detail?vid=1&sid=87a8c48c-ae4f-4912-bf35-b4d2df16a88%40sessionmgr4006&bdata=JnNpdGU9ZWhvc3QtbGl2ZQ%3d%3d#AN=9503067653&db=aph

[87] Walter Benjamin, 'On the Concept of History'

> Existence not only to the efforts of the great geniuses who created them, but also to the anonymous toils of others who lived in the same period. There is no document of culture, which is not at the same time a document of barbarism.[88]

Thus, the guidance of both Cooper and Benjamin is critical in that they create platforms to pursue and answer questions about the place of presumed minor categories like refugees in the articulation of history, in ways that benefit both the historical actors and history.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

This thesis is organised in eight chapters. Apart from raising refugees' representational concerns, Chapter 1 sets the stage by discussing various ways in which the notion of a refugee has been conceptualised in Zimbabwe. The chapter provides a background to the problem of the representation of refugee histories in post-colonial Zimbabwe. Whereas the alignment of war histories to notions of patriotism is cited as a contributory reason to inadequate explorations of refugee histories, what also emerges from the discussions was the issue of tensions that arose through the problems of struggle over context. As we have seen, the context that created refugees, the anti-Rhodesia struggles, was also the one that created other groups such as the former fighters and the nationalists. However, as Dijk observed, "one way of enacting power is to control context."[89] What we have seen in post-colonial Zimbabwean power dynamics was the appropriation of the context of anti-Rhodesia struggles as justification for an entitlement to both power and history by membership of the nationalist and war veteran categories that consider themselves as *de facto* owners of the struggle narrative. Due to representational approaches that tend to "empathise" with assertions of dominance as envisaged in the mind-sets of the above mentioned groups, refugees were not only elbowed from the spheres of representation but also from such power dynamics.[90] Nonetheless, what the chapter asserts is that instead of viewing these struggles for context as negative historical developments, what is needed is to think of the tensions created by such developments as a positive tool that should encourage more historical enquiries that leads to

[88] Walter Benjamin 'On the Concept of History' and Walter Benjamin, 'Paralipomena to "On the Concept of History"' in Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings (eds) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 4, 1938-1940,* (United States: Belknap Press of Howard University Press, 2002) pp401-411.

[89] Teun Van Dijk, 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', in Margaret Wetherell et.al. (eds) Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001), pp 300-317

[90] Discussions on General Chiwenga's sentiments alluded to earlier emphasises this assertion

inclusive representations. As Cooper observed, if such tensions are confronted, history benefits.[91]

Chapter 2, titled "Producing Refugee Histories: Discursive Issues, Challenges and Modes," lays out the plan of what is entailed by the process of constructing refugee histories. The chapter begins by explaining the document analysis and oral history methodological preferences employed for this study. It then introduces the areas where the oral history interviews that anchor this thesis were conducted. The chapter also discusses the context that produced the history under consideration, the anti-Rhodesia struggle. In doing this, the chapter propose that in order to begin the process of writing a history of refugees, there is need to do this through problematizing the context and spaces that made the production of these refugee subjects possible. Additionally, the chapter also give vivid descriptions of what transpired during the oral history encounters with the former refugees whose narratives and testimonies constitute the backbone of this study. Lastly, borrowing from Field, the central argument posed in the chapter is that we can only embark on constructing histories on groups of people such as refugees through regarding them first as "sites of knowledge"[92] where enquiries about those histories can be undertaken.[93]

Whereas Chapter 2 dwells on methodological approaches, Chapter 3 summarises the biographies of people whose experiences steer the major debates discussed in this study. The underlying reason for providing biographic snapshots of these former refugees is in line with the central argument of this thesis that places emphasis on refugees' visibility in spheres of historical representation. Chapter 4 traces the evolution of refugees in Zimbabwe's anti-colony struggles. By going back to the 1960s period as a way of tracing refugee legacies, the chapter deviates from other historical studies on refugees that commence their explorations from the mid-1970s in the militaristic phase of the struggle. In so doing, the chapter follows Cooper's proposition to avoid what he termed as the "leapfrogging" method of history writing. As Cooper observed, if historians follow this method, they risk "missing the

[91] Frederick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa'

[92] S Field, 'Turning up the volume: Dialogues about memory create oral histories, *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 60 no. 2, (2008), pp. 1-24

[93] My argument here on oral sources as invaluable sources information from which historians can construct histories is borrowed from, Portelli, A, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991), p x.

sequence" of historical "processes" along the channel of such historical occurrences. The central argument, which the chapter proposes is that liberation consciousness was not a precondition for becoming a refugee. Rather, as the refugee debates of the mid 1960s that the chapter discusses shows, refugees were an already existing category of people whose numbers increased when the anti-Rhodesia struggles turned into a war of liberation. Such a revelation means that the refugee of the anti-Rhodesia struggles must be viewed as a subject that does not acquire its meaning from 1975 as Sadomba's work seems to suggest. Nonetheless, when the liberation war started playing a direct role in the production of refugees, narratives emerged of people running away from the war's effects rather than motivations for participation. We only began to see narrative shifts in the refugee problem around 1977 to 1979 where some informants forwarded narratives in which they claimed to have left Zimbabwe for purposes of joining the struggle. However, these narrative shifts did not entirely erase issues of diversity why people fled Rhodesia to become refugees outside the country's borders. The central idea that shapes the whole chapter is that in order to create understandings of the Zimbabwean refugee phenomenon, we need to commence our explorations through the dual processes of examining the problem of the concerned event from its base by considering the people who experienced it. This way, we will understand the multiple dimensions that took place in the refugees' experiences.

Chapter Five focuses on a popular notion, "running with the terrorists"[94] used by Rhodesian military to dismiss the predicament of slayed non-combatant black Africans found in the company of the guerrillas. Adopting this notion as a theme, the Chapter uses refugee oral narratives to achieve three purposes. Firstly, the narratives are used to debate whether the same view of "running with the terrorists" had underwritten Rhodesia's invasion of camps and other spaces where refugees resided outside the country. Secondly, the avenue of refugee memories is used to examine the standing of refugee interpretations of such encounters with those of historical representations previously constructed without refugee voices. Lastly, the narratives are also used to outline refugees' experiences of war invoked through memories of such encounters with the Rhodesians during the period of refuge. Broadly, the chapter argues that although 'running with terrorists' might have been an influencing idea behind Rhodesian

[94] Ed Bird, *Special Branch War: Slaughter in the Rhodesian Bush Southern Matabeleland, 1976-1980*, SA Publishing Services: South Africa, 2013, p 98

actions, such behaviour by Rhodesia was also in a way aided by unfixed guerrilla and host nation interpretations of refugees.

Chapter Six continues the debate started in Chapter Five by critiquing the refugee humanitarian policies of countries that hosted Rhodesian refugees during the war. Broadly, the chapter problematizes the factors that shaped the different refugee administrations in countries that offered protection to refugees. The main argument advanced in the chapter is that prior to Rhodesian acts of aggression, refugees were construed as an accidental problem in the arena of liberation. It was the wish of refugee host nations for refugees to water the tree of liberation regardless of the costs. Apart from such perceptions operating in direct confrontation with the UN and OAU concepts of refugees that forbade refugee refoulment, this also contributed to refugees' sense of insecurity, a key aspect that then defined most of their experiences outside the country.

Chapter Seven discusses the transitions that the refugee figure went through from the period just before independence to the post-colony. It articulates the evolution of refugees from a useful political campaign category to their present day situation of exclusion from the political debates of the nation state. Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by proposing a model that advocates for a return to history as a way of both enhancing representations of historical events in the nation state and resolving tensions that arise through misinterpretations of history. Such a model rejects assumptions of knowing history through sub categories such as heritage for example, which by nature are selective if not subjected to critical historical interrogations.

CHAPTER TWO

PRODUCING REFUGEE HISTORIES: DISCURSIVE ISSUES, CHALLENGES AND MODES

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Remarking on the "powerful and uneasy" heritage that both the liberation war and the counter-insurgency campaign against 'dissidents' had left in Matabeleland South Province of Zimbabwe, anthropologist Richard Werbner said:

> There are social wounds of terror and violence which survivors recreate in their memories and which they are unwilling to forget. These memories have to be understood, their force and their nature need to be recognized, if the present significance of the liberation war and its aftermath is to be appreciated in any depth.[1]

Drawing lessons from these observations by Werbner on the need to create understandings and recognitions of war memories as a way of fostering appreciations of the liberation war, this chapter concerns itself with the process of producing history from lived experiences of refugees. Refugees' experiences, as I argue in this chapter, are a critical component in the quest to understand the totality of Zimbabwe's anticolonial struggle. However, in emphasising the production of histories pertaining to refugee experiences, the chapter agrees that whereas people who experienced such a life are still living human subjects and still bear memories of such experiences, the task of facilitating[2] for their revelation in the public sphere lies with historians.[3] As seen in the previous chapter, refugees of Zimbabwe's liberation war were only accounted historically in generalised forms. Such generalisations made it difficult to understand the force and nature of the concerned memories as implied in Werbner's observation. With this background, this chapter explains how I embarked upon the process of conducting a study of refugees' experiences with the aim of transcending the generalised interpretations of such histories. Broadly, in coming up with the research method illustrated

[1] Richard Werbner, 'In Memory: A Heritage of War in South-Western Zimbabwe', in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (eds) *Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996), p 192

[2] This argument here on the facilitation task of a historian is borrowed from Sean Field, 'Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss and Resilience in Post-Apartheid Cape Town', in (Third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp 581-594

[3] On this framing, see also, Valerie Yow, *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (London: Sage Publications, 1994), p 144.

below, I followed Michael Roper's example drawn from Collingwood on believing that a "historian's empathetic powers" are crucial to studying and writing history.[4]

2.1 Research Approaches

As a way of approaching refugees as a subject of study, my starting point was carrying out an analysis of influencing ideas behind the historical representations reviewed in Chapter 1. Through my engagement with these representations, what emerged was that most post-independence historical literature on Zimbabwe's liberation war legacies was written from the perspective of what Val R. Lorwin referred to as the "standpoint of the centre."[5] A key characteristic of the "standpoint of the centre approach" is that it prefers assumed major histories and historical players as its subject of analysis. This results in the non-consideration of supposed minor histories and minor historical actors in history writing. In most cases, these end up being swallowed or interpreted through presumed major histories. As Lorwin observed about the weaknesses of such historical approaches:

> If the nation is more than the sum of its parts, the parts are more than fractions of the whole. Sometimes national aggregates cancel out, rather than sum up, important local and regional, class or occupational, ethnic and cultural developments.[6]

Problems associated with "the standpoint of the centre" approach are not only limited to the silencing of concerned histories. For Zimbabwe, this extended to depictions of excluded histories as unbefitting to the ideals of the selected celebrated history, namely the overcoming of colonialism. As a result, instead of history being a subject about people's relationships with history, it becomes one that privileges selected roles as being worthy history whilst making a point that others are not. This insistence on selected roles played as the only ones in which we can understand history is also problematic. In a critique of what he viewed as a "singular focus" in history, Fredrick Cooper observed that such approaches result in the loss

[4] Michael Roper, 'The Unconscious Work of History', *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 11, Issue 2, (2014) pp. 169-193

[5] Val. R Lorwin, 'The comparative analysis of historical change: nation-building in the Western world', *International Social Science Journal, UNESCO*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (1965) pp. 594-605

[6] V. R Lorwin, 'The comparative analysis'

of historical knowledge that can be gleaned from the multiple interpretations of the "different groups" that also engaged the same complex history such as colonialism.[7]

The methods of history that I adopted to explore people's relationships with history as opposed to their roles in history were document analysis and the oral history method. Whereas document analysis was used to explore written depictions of the refugees in Zimbabwe's anticolonial struggle histories, oral history method answered questions about the meaning of struggle history from the perspective of refugees or refugee experiences. Although the advantages of oral history methods have been illustrated in a wide range of literature on the subject, perhaps the most striking and influencing one that best explains the suitability of the methodology in researches of undermined groups such as former refugees is the one postulated by Alessandro Portelli. According to Portelli, the oral history method:

> Expresses the awareness of the historicity of personal experience and of the individual's role in the history of society and in public events: wars, revolutions, strikes, floods, ...and earthquakes[8]

Unlike the "standpoint of the centre" approach that prefers the writing of history from a hierarchical perspective, the oral history method's emphasis is on individual relationships with history and on histories that do not pay attention to hierarchical boundaries. This allowed me to consider refugees as a category that also has a relationship with Zimbabwe's anticolonial struggle history. By disregarding the centre, emphasis was on building a history gleaned from the perspective of a category that had been relegated to the periphery of the publicised narrative over the years. In so doing, such a history was not only supposed to "deconstruct", in the Derrida sense, the publicised national history but to construct a more representative and inclusive one. In thinking about using the oral history method, I borrowed from Lorwin's advice:

> [In order] to comprehend the nation, we must often stand back from its centre and study its components and its peripheries.....We must disaggregate the national data by studies of the nation's geographic or occupational or cultural and other components.[9]

---

[7] Fredrick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa' in in Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), pp. 406- 435

[8]A Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p 6

[9] V. R Lorwin, 'The Comparative analysis'

Following Lorwin, I considered former refugees as a category relegated to the periphery after 1980 and as a category that needed restoration to the history from which it was gradually expelled through post-colonial Zimbabwe's ways of doing of history. I also considered the liberation war as the "national story" with multiple components which must be considered legitimate. As I will discuss later, through this oral history method, refugee respondents were interviewed and gave their views on questions posed to them seeking to understand the meanings of the liberation war to them. I formulated questions that sought to understand the nature of the refugees' choices as well as their experiences thereafter. I augmented this by posing questions gleaned from depictions given about them in archival documents and Zimbabwean liberation war historical literature. Prior knowledge about refugee depictions enabled me to formulate a research guide whose purpose was to aid the collection of memories that the refugees had experienced and still remembered. In so doing, as opposed to approaches that produce knowledge limited to just knowing about refugees as a phenomenon "that happened", oral history interviews espoused a history based on "how the people" who experienced refugee life "felt about it and what it meant to them."[10]

Since my approach to the study was qualitative, being a former refugee born on or before 1970 was the only credential required for participation. Selection of 1970 stemmed from the argument that people born afterwards might not have been old enough to remember much about the experiences of refuge. In approaching the study this way, my method differed with that of scholars such as Spradley who insisted on the location of "good participants" who had to conform to a multiplicity of criteria drafted by him as a prerequisite for the selection of would be participants.[11] This is so, as Noam Chomsky argued, we must desist from referring to people as "model" scholars[12]and we must also desist from having "model" respondents. For this study, which emphasised the multiplicity of historical interpretations, any information gleaned from a respondent was considered critical to both historical thought and solving historical puzzles.

---

[10] Kathryn Anderson et al 'Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History', *Oral History Review* Vol 15, No. 1, Fieldwork in Oral History (Spring, 1987) downloaded from http://www.jstor.org/stable/3674961 accessed on the 27th Of November 2017

[11] James Spradely quoted from Terri Ann Ognibene, 'Discovering the Voices of the Segregated: An Oral History of the Educational Experiences of the Turkish People of Sumter County, South Carolina, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, 2008, p 94

[12] Noam Chomsky, 'Intellectuals and the Responsibilities of Public Life: Noam Chomsky interviewed by Robert Borofsky', *Public Anthropology* May 2001) Accessed online from https://chomsky.info/20010527/ on the 4th of January 2018

Apart from the existing literature discussed in Chapter 1, there were several other spaces where refugees were depicted which I acquainted myself with before entering the research field. These spaces, reminiscent of what Rüsen referred to as "allusions to historical occurrences,"[13]included documents such as newspapers and records of parliamentary debates. Prior to this work, no attempts had been done in existing postcolonial historical literature to connect these depictions to the refugees' own meanings of experiencing such a life.

By referring to the issue of giving meaning to depictions of a historical matter, my point is to make a case for the subject of history as key in representation of issues connected to people pasts. It is the role of a historian to engage with everyday depictions in phenomena and ascribe in-depth meanings. For Zimbabwe's wartime refugees, even though there might have been records of discussions about them in Rhodesia era newspapers, I argue that it is the duty of a historian to pose questions on the motivations behind those documents and thereafter proceed to assign new interpretations upon concluding the enquiry. For this study, most of the questions that I posed to the former refugees arose from my engagement with previous refugee depictions in Rhodesia era newspapers and parliamentary debates. Such depictions included refugee reports in both the pre and post-independence eras.[14]

2.2 Explaining the choice of case study areas

This thesis drew its respondents from two Zimbabwean districts of Mutasa and Bulilima. Mutasa district is located in the eastern part of Zimbabwe, in Manicaland, a province that borders Mozambique. Bulilima district is located in the western part of Zimbabwe in Matabeleland South Province which borders Botswana and South Africa. In selecting these two borderland districts, two basic requirements guided my choice. Firstly, following Seanwright and Gerring's advice that "a chosen case" must be able to "perform a heroic role" of "stand[ing] for (represent) a population of cases that is often much larger than itself,"[15] there was a drive to select areas that represented the broader countrywide extent of the war refugee problem. The second factor took into consideration the proximity and availability of

[13] Jörn Rüsen, *Making sense of history: History, Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (New York and Oxford Berghan Books, 2015) p 14

[14] M Sasa and T Farawo, 'General Chiwenga fires warning shots'

[15] Jason Seanwright and John Gerring, 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options', *Political Research Quarterly* Vol 61 No. 2 (June 2008), pp 294-308

spaces of refuge or countries that were willing to provide such refuge to Zimbabweans fleeing the war's violence.

In terms of the first factor, it is important to note that by 1980 the struggle for Zimbabwe had evolved into a conflict involving three distinct armed groups. The first group was the RSF, which represented the colonial government of Rhodesia. ZIPRA and ZANLA, which identified themselves as liberation armies, constituted the second and third armed groups in that conflict. As liberation armies, both ZIPRA and ZANLA contested the RSF as armed military wings of wartime political organisations of ZAPU and ZANU respectively. There were geographical perspectives in the manner in which both ZIPRA and ZANLA fought against the RSF. ZIPRA situated itself mainly in the western part of the country whilst ZANLA was more visible in the east. Thus, for a study of refugees, it was important to select case areas that took into consideration the resultant geographical correlation. In this regard, Bulilima's selection sought to produce a representative account for refugees produced in the ZIPRA-RSF confrontation area in the west, while Mutasa was selected to serve the same purposes in the east where ZANLA was based.

Linked to the above, contextual correlation was also taken into consideration in the quest to understand the breadth and depth of the Zimbabwean refugee phenomenon. In this regard, it is important to note that the war context, as a phase of the broader struggle, played an influential role in the production of Zimbabwean refugees. As a result, there was also a drive to identify areas that were impacted by the war more than others and meant that people living in those areas were forced to contemplate creative ways of survival. This suggestion takes us back to the importance of the two issues of geographical and contextual correlation. Even though the military phase of the Zimbabwean struggle was publicised to the outside world as a 'war', it is important to note that its modus operandi was guerrilla warfare, implying forms of military confrontations between insurgents and counter insurgents. A key particularity of this type of warfare in the Zimbabwe case was that it was waged from neighbouring countries that also supported the liberation cause as espoused in the ideologies of both ZIPRA and ZANLA. Whereas Mozambique and Zambia were more involved in the conflict, Tanzania, Botswana, Angola also got involved supporting the guerrillas. Apartheid South Africa also joined on the side of the Rhodesian regime. Because the guerrillas were waging the war from outside the country, the first battles fought in the struggle for Zimbabwe took place in areas close to borderlands.

However, despite the first notable military confrontations having taken place in 1966, by 1976 the borderland characteristic of the conflict was still dominating debate about the struggle for Zimbabwe. Contributing to a parliamentary debate on the president's speech on the 24th June 1976, the Member of Parliament (MP) for Nthsonalanga constituency that also encompassed present day Bulilima district, the Honourable M.M Bhebe referred to this issue of the war as a borderland problem. In his contribution, MP Bhebe argued that it was his "qualified feeling that the troubles we have on our borders from guerrilla fighters" were "due to the fact that there has been frustration for the young men in this country."[16]These borderland allusions were to continue in the Rhodesian parliament on the 18th August 1976 when MP Maphosa took on the then Rhodesian Minister of Defence, PK Van der Byl. Questioning PK Van der Byl, MP Maphosa wanted to know the "methods" that were being "used" by the RSF "to distinguish between the real terrorists and ordinary civilians killed in the border war."[17]

However, if the above hints are followed critically, it is impossible to envisage a history of refugees in the Zimbabwean war without thinking about the space of the borderland in that conflict. Furthermore, Rhodesian parliamentary debates were not the only platform where the site of the borderland was invoked in discussions about the Zimbabwean struggle. Historical texts such as those of Gann and Henriksen, Godwin and Hannock, Schmidt as well as Makgala and Fisher all contain narratives which situate borderland spaces within the contested terrain of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle history. In an observation later supported by Godwin and Hancock, [18] Gann and Henriksen[19] mentioned that the eastern borderland area of Manicaland became "the main theatre of the war." Similar trends observed in the east were also noted in the western geographical sphere. Makgala and Fisher's work which described a borderland confrontation that took place between the Botswana Defence Forces and the RSF

[16] 'Contribution by Hon M.M Bhebe to the Presidential Speech, 24th June 1976 session' Rhodesian Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly, Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament Comprising period from 22nd June 1976 to 30th July 1976, Vol. 93 (22nd of June to 30th July 1976), p 40, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records File ZG1

[17] 'Oral Questions posed by the Hon MP Maphosa in contributions to the Tourism Bill, 18th of August 1976 session' Rhodesian Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly, Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament Comprising period from 22nd June 1976 to 30th July 1976, Vol. 94 (3rd of August to 27th August 1976), p 859. National Archives of Zimbabwe Records File ZG1

[18] According to Godwin and Hancock, the Manicaland areas of the "Honde Valley" and "Chipinga" together with the "Lowveld became the new and bitterly-contested 'sharp end' of the war." See, Peter Godwin and Ian Hancock, "*Rhodesians Never Die"*:*The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

[19] Lewis H Gann, *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Battle in the Bush* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1981), p 77

in 1978 is an indicator of such trends.[20] For this thesis, these writings bear testimony to the suggestion that borderland communities are important in any attempt to construct a detailed history of refugees.

The above indispensable nature of the borderland in the discourse of refugees in the Zimbabwe liberation war takes us to the second contributory factor of availability and proximity to spaces of refuge. In this case, by space of refuge what I mean is the ability of countries to offer refuge to people who were affected by the war in the then Rhodesia. As we have seen from the comments and suggestions of Rhodesian era MPs above, these two issues of availability and proximity became important to the affected people in the much impacted borderland communities.

In terms of case study choices and in the broader discussion of the liberation war itself, it is noteworthy that proximity and availability would not have succeeded as key factors in the refugee discourse without augmentation by issues of ideology hinted above. Whereas southern districts such as Beitbridge were also borderland communities, this did not translate in neighbouring South Africa becoming a space of refuge for the majority of people who were trying to escape from the effects of conflict in the then Rhodesia. With its legendary segregative apartheid policies still intact coupled with its own precarious position within the global community of nations during that time, it was impossible for South Africa to be an ideal space of refuge for Rhodesia's diverse racial population groups except the Whites. This meant that choices of case study areas had to be limited to communities that shared a border with countries that had ideological inclinations, favourable to the largely black African victims of the Rhodesian conflict. By considering case choices in terms of communities badly affected by the war, my intention here was to find areas whereby the multiple dimensions of the refugee phenomenon as well as its depth and breadth could be explored and revealed. On this perspective, the two districts of Bulilima and Mutasa exhibited such characteristics where it was possible to explicate issues involved in the refuge phenomena.

In conclusion, it is important to state that inspiration was also derived from the need to transcend the problem of inadequate representation of refugees in historical literature as emphasised throughout this study. In most cases, refugees were only mentioned in historical literature without the presentation of deeper details. By considering areas heavily impacted

[20] CJ (John) Makgla and ML (Matshwenego) Fisher, 'The Impact of Zimbabwean liberation Struggle on Botswana: The case of Lesoma ambuish, 1978', *New Contree*, No. 57 (May 2009)

by the war, the idea was to show the link between the refugee producing areas, the circumstances under which people fled the war as well as the countries where they fled to. As will be revealed in the narratives used in this thesis, the selected case study areas of Bulilima and Mutasa were the most ideal to illustrate how refugee histories unfolded.

2.3 In the Field: Conducting oral history research in Mutasa and Bulilima Districts

One key argument maintained in this work is that informative histories pertaining to phenomena whereby their key actors are still living human subjects are those produced through engagement with those actors as opposed to assumptions. In order for there to be a production of a history or histories about a phenomenon such as refugees' experiences in a war, the first task is to locate the concerned refugees. There is no oral history research about former refugees of a war that can take place without locating them.[21] It is only after their location that the task of constructing histories from what they still remember about the event can then commence.

This section reflects on the journey I undertook in the quest to locate Zimbabwe's former refugees for purposes of recording what they remembered about their wartime experiences through oral history interviews. Contrary to most oral history researches that normally start with descriptions of what happened around the interview scene, I argue in this section that oral history must rather be considered as an ordered process comprised of both the research and interview stages. As I will argue, the events that happen before the interview are equally important in elucidating the discursive issues involved in a phenomenon almost in the same manner as the interview itself. These events are "interlocutors" to what the historical event being researched means to people and institutions who claim to be stakeholders even when they were not its actors. By proposing to approach a study of refugees in this way, my argument supports the proposal posited by Liisa Malkki that in order to understand the

[21] I borrowed this line of thought from Alessandro Portelli, 'Oral History as a Genre', in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) *Narrative and Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), p 28. Portelli declared, "There is no oral history before the encounter of two different subjects, one with a story to tell and the other with a history to reconstruct." See also, Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1997), p 9

broadness of refugee issues, there is also need to consider the perceptions of those who remained "emplaced."[22]

I first embarked on the task to locate refugees for carrying out oral history interviews with them in August 2016. Out of the two case study areas mentioned above, I chose to start my study in Mutasa District. Even though, Bozzoli,[23] Tankink and Vysma[24] mentioned that "subjectivity" can sometimes impact negatively on a research process or "influence" it, my selection of Mutasa District for my initial examination of the notion of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war was aimed at translating my own subjectivity into a positive research tool.

I was born and bred in Mutasa's neighbouring district of Mutare. I speak Manyika, the Shona language dialect spoken by the people of both Mutasa and Mutare districts. As a local, these attributes normally impact negatively in a research process in the same manner as the Biblical prophets are said to be victims of denial in their own backyards. I carried out this study at the same time as the ruling ZANU PF party had reached an advanced stage of a process that began in 2000 to translate the history of the liberation war into an economic and political tool. Such a translation, benefitted people who subscribed to ZANU PF ideology and thus leading to detractors dismissing them as partisan.

War veterans led the translation of the war's legacies. These legacies that had produced the same refugees who were now my research subjects. A peculiarity of this usage of liberation war history by the Zimbabwean ruling elite and the veterans of the liberation struggle was that the war became the official narrative governing the country. This adaptation of the war narrative to define the country's sense of nationhood had represented a major paradigm shift from the narrative of reconciliation that had been the country's hallmark since independence in 1980. According to the pronouncements of Mugabe, upon his assumption of the Prime Minister-ship in 1980, the policy of reconciliation was the ideology pronounced as defining

---

[22] Malkki defined emplacement as meaning people who remained behind after the flight of others. See, Liisa H. Malkki, 'Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things,' *Annual Review of Anthropology,* Vol. 24 (1995), pp 495-523. Downloaded from Jstor http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0084-6570%281995%292%3A24%3C495%3ARAEF%22S%3E2.0.CO%3B2-U

[23] Belinda Bozzolli, 'Interviewing the Women of Phokeng: Consciousness and gender, insider and outsider' in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp 59-72

[24] M Tankink and M Vysma quoted in G Maringira 'Soldiers in Exile: The Military Habitus and Identities of Former Zimbabwean Soldiers in South Africa', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, South Africa, 2014, p 20

independent Zimbabwe. A peculiarity of that reconciliation ideology was the encouragement of unity among races and people. [25]

The post 2000 trajectory represented a complete deviation from the dictates of reconciliation as pronounced in 1980 and described above. Hostility among races and against those identified as opining differently became a major characteristic of the shift from the reconciliation paradigm to war. For instance, people of Malawian origin who had voted for a 'no vote' sponsored by the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) and the National Constitutional Assembly (NCA) in opposition to the ZANU PF sponsored 'yes vote' in the year 1999 constitutional reform referendum, were labelled as "totem-less people" by the state President.[26] One indicator that the country had shifted from reconciliation to war was when President Mugabe defined the cabinet that he had appointed in 2002 as a war cabinet.[27] Thus, due to the relationship between refugees as a subject matter whose origins was the liberation war and the liberation war itself as a narrative now governing the country, any research on a subject that sought to investigate any component of that war was bound to be problematic if some kind of prior permission had not been granted by government. This is because during the time of my study, any form of critical approaches to subjects related to war other than the aforementioned patriotic history approach had the potential to attract physical rebuttal from state apparatus.[28] Post 2000, Zimbabwean history was replete with numerous examples and incidences where researchers, news reporters and newspaper houses were branded as either enemies of the state or agents of western imperialism and stooges of the dethroned Rhodesian regime if they opined differently. Journalists Ray Choto and Mark Chavhunduka were arrested on allegations of publishing falsehood.[29] On the 5th March 2015, another journalist, Itai Dzamara was abducted near his home in Harare's Glen View township by masked men and was never seen. Prior to his abduction, Dzamara had led a one man protest in Harare's Africa Unity Square demanding President Mugabe's resignation and for

[25] My argument here is premised on the fact that in 1980, the narrative that governed the country as espoused in the words of the country's then Prime Minister, Robert Mugabe was that of reconciliation. Thus, the post 2000 trajectory represented a complete deviation from the dictates of reconciliation pronounced in 1980.

[26] Anusa Diamon, 'Mabhurandaya': The Malawian Diaspora in Zimbabwe:1895-2008, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, November 2015, p2005

[27] Ngonidzashe Marongwe, Rural Women as the Invisible Victims of Militarised Political Violence: the Case of Shurugwi District, Zimbabwe, 2000-2008, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2012

[28] For discussions on the rise of a repressive culture in Zimbabwe see, L Sachikonye, *When a State Turns against its Citizens* (Jacana: Johannesburg, 2011)

[29] Committee to Protect Journalists, 'Attacks on the Press in 1999-Zimbabwe', February 2000. Accessed on the 10th of April 2017 at https://www.refworld.org/docid/47c565cd23.html

the government to arrest Zimbabwe's deteriorating economic and political conditions. In 2003, the printing press of the *Daily News* newspaper was bombed and when no suspect was arrested, government critics accused the government of complicity.[30] Academics Ibbo Mandaza and Patrick Bond were barred from presenting at a lecture series in Harare in the same year by government who claimed that the gathering was an opposition meeting.[31] Church organisations were not spared as the ruling Zanu PF meddled in the Anglican Church leadership contest that pitted the Rev Kunonga, a well-known Zanu PF party supporter and Rev Chad Gandiya, viewed as a government critic. In that contest, Zanu PF sided with Kunonga and supporters of Gandiya were barred from worshiping in church cathedrals.[32]

Cognisant of the above, I embarked on my sojourn to Mutasa district planning to use my status as an insider to transcend possible questions on my interest in researching phenomena regarded as a product of the country's central narrative. As mentioned earlier, the country was in a state of political polarisation.[33]It was sharply divided between the supporters of the ruling Zanu PF and the MDC, a party that had arrived on the country's political scene in 1999. Since its formation, MDC had managed to erode a big chunk of what used to be the ruling party's support base. MDC handed Zanu PF its first electoral defeat in the form of the constitutional reform no vote that it had supported. Zanu PF reacted to these political developments by branding the MDC and its supporters as American and British puppets. In rural areas post-2000, most people were suspicious of strangers. However, as a local, I hoped to alleviate these doubts through introducing myself as one of them and not a stranger. Mutasa district became the ideal place to test the advantages of being local. I also enlisted the services of two local research assistants, Biggie Chikwiramakomo whose rural home and

[30] Iden Wetherell and Tim Butcher, 'Bomb Wrecks Zimbabwe Newspaper Printing Press', *The Telegraph*, 29 January 2001, Accessed on the 10 of December 2017 at http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/zimbabwe/1320177/Bomb-wrecnewspapers-printing-press.htmlks-Zimbabwe

[31] 'Police Halt MDC- Sponsored Lecture on Global Financial Crisis', *Voice of America*, 10 February 2012, Accessed on the 10th of December 2017 at https//www.voazimbabwe.com/a/police-block-mdcs-lecture-series-as-political-tensions-rise-139107324.html. See also, 'Police stop Tsvangirai Lecture Series', *The Zimbabwean*, 10 February 2012, Accessed on the 10th of December 2017 at www. thezimbabwean.co/2012/02/police-stop-tsvangirai-lecture-series/10/02/2012-

[32] Peter Godwin, *When a Crocodile Eats the Sun: A Memoir of Africa* (Picador: London, 2007)

[33] The MDC had arrived on the Zimbabwean Political scene in 1999 and handed the ruling ZANU PF party its first ever electoral defeat in a referendum and it had this with significant electoral gains in the year 2000 parliamentary elections and in 2002 presidential elections. ZANU PF reacted to these political developments by branding the MDC a stooge of the defeated Rhodesians as well as Americans and British. They were also labelled agents of illegal regime change. MDC had responded by branding the ruling ZANU PF as kleptocrats redundant in the art of democratic good governance.

place of birth was the neighbouring Nyanga District where the Manyika dialect is also the *lingua franca* of the area; and Takudzwa Pasipanodya, originally from Mutasa district, the research site.

Before proceeding to the research site, I decided to pass through the city of Mutare and spent the night at a local lodge. It was at this lodge where my research commenced when Biggie Chikwiramakomo met an old friend Z, an employee at the lodge who inquired about the nature of business that had brought us to the city of Mutare. In response, Biggie told him that he was on his way to Mutasa District to assist in an oral history study on people who were refugees during Zimbabwe's liberation war period. Biggie asked him whether he knew of any people who had been refugees during the war from his rural home area in the Honde Valley which also happened to be in Mutasa District. In response, Z told Biggie that his relatives, the Mhukayatadza family[34] were former refugees and gave us directions to their homestead.

Prior to the meeting with Z through Biggie, my initial plan was to enlist the services of traditional leaders to identify former refugees. This plan represented the position that I had illustrated in my proposal during the time I conceived the idea to historicise refugees of the war's experiences. However, after benefiting from the engagement with Z, I decided to deviate from the proposed approach, opting to use the local informant method that had already realised positive results. In this case, the name of the intended next local informant I had in mind was C, an old colleague.

Since C's place of residence was along the way to the District Administrator (DA) for Mutasa District's office, I then decided to pass through his homestead. In my meeting with C, I introduced the subject matter of my presence in the district. Even though C confirmed that there were former refugees that he knew of in the Manica Bridge area where he resided, he expressed reluctance to introduce me to any of them. He promised to make such introductions if I brought a letter of approval to conduct research in Mutasa District either from the DA or the Acting Chief Mutasa. He indicated that war veterans in his area were hostile to researchers interested in issues linked to the ruling ZANU PF party. For C since ZANU PF owned the war legacy, refugees were not an exception. He justified his compromised

[34] Although the Mhukayatadza family became my first interviewees in this research, it turned out that they were not refugees as defined by the UNHCR statutes already discussed in this thesis. In fact, the case of the Mhukayatadza family constituted what the UNHCR defines as that of Internally Displaced People (IDPs) as they had not sought refuge outside the country's borders but in the mining town of Kwekwe where Samson Mhukayatadza was working.

position by informing me that he was known to a Cabinet Minister and a high-ranking ZANU PF official hailing from his neighbourhood and therefore, was not prepared to soil his relationship with her.

Even though my engagement with C represented a setback, I proceeded to the DA's office where I presented my research credentials to Mukome,[35] the Assistant District Administrator (ADA) for Mutasa District. Mukome did not enquire much about my presence. However, he told me that he was going to inform his superior, the DA, about the presence of a student researcher in the district. After the meeting with Mukome, I proceeded to the Mhukayatadza homestead in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area as directed by Z in Mutare. When I eventually met the Mhukayatadza family, they did not express any reservations in entertaining me since a person known to them, Z, had referred me.

However, after my interviews with the Mhukayatadza family, Samson Mhukayatadza had then asked me to go and interview his aunt, an old woman known as Mbuya[36]Jane Mharapara who also resided in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area but under a different Village Head. According to Samson Mhukayatadza, unlike him and his family who had sought refuge in Kwekwe an urban area, Jane had fled to Mozambique and resided in refugee camps.[37] As with my engagement with the Mhukayatadza family, my meeting with Jane was not problematic. The fact that her nephew had referred me was enough credential to gain her trust. As a way of cementing that trust, I introduced myself and my colleagues using our clan totems. This approach yielded positive results when I introduced Takudzwa as a member of the Muponda sub-chieftainship, a ruling traditional polity known to her. However, just like her nephew Mhukayatadza, Jane concluded our interview by referring me to another family, the Muniya family.[38] According to Jane, the Muniyas were her colleagues during their time in Mozambican refugee camps.

Whereas the idea of using local informants impressed upon me in the encounter with Z seems to have been working, it somehow faced a challenge when I decided to locate the Muniya

[35] Although I am aware of the ethical implications associated with names of individuals, as an Assistant District Administrator, Mukome is not ordinary individual but a public official. Therefore, I refer to all the public officials that I encountered during the course this study by their real names in this thesis.

[36] Mbuya is the Shona language word that is used to denote an old woman

[37] Samson Mhukayatadza only emphasised the nature of Mbuya Jane's refugee typology after his realisation of the distinction that I was making between IDPs and refugees who had settled outside the country's borders.

[38] Jane Mharapara, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa District, 7 September 2016

family that I had been referred to by Jane. After unsuccessful attempts to locate the homestead, we decided to ask for directions from a man we had seen walking down the road. The man told us that he knew about the Muniya family that we were enquiring about and was prepared to act as our guide to their homestead. However, before he could take us there, he asked us to wait for him, as he just wanted to see someone at a nearby homestead. After sometime, the man returned and asked us to follow him. We came to a homestead where our guide surprised us by introducing a new man whom he said was the local branch ZANU PF chairperson. As we were trying to come to terms with what was appearing to be our guide's trickery, he introduced the new man as Mr Borerwe[39] a retired school teacher, before revealing his identity as chairperson of ZANU PF cell group. As he completed the introductions, Borerwe as branch chairperson, was his superior in the ruling party hierarchies. Borerwe asked about the nature of our business in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area. In response, I told him that I was a student researcher interested in the wartime experiences of refugees from the liberation war era. Borerwe further enquired about the methods that I was using to glean information from respondents. When I responded to him about my awareness of ethical considerations, he asked whether I had any form of documentation permitting me to conduct field research in Mutasa District.

Even though Alessandro Portelli advised that it is important for oral historians to reveal themselves in full,[40] it is also important to note that throughout the duration of my stay in Muparutsa area before the encounter with Borerwe, I had detested this idea of fully revealing myself. For me, what had initially brought me to Mutasa was the need to carry out a research on refugees, a requirement needed to fulfil the PhD degree that I was studying. I was in Mutasa district as a student researcher and I wanted people whom I was engaging with to consider me within those limits. I did not want to use my other identities to jeopardise my research. In this case, my fear for jeopardy had arisen from the fact that once informants begin to identify me as something else other than a student, neutrality was more likely to be compromised. Thus, I wanted to be understood as a student interested in history rather than the other identities.

[39] Borerwe as village chairperson of ZANU PF is a public official and hence the publication of his name

[40] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia*, p 12. Even though Portelli mentioned this in reference to the engagement between the interviewer and informant, my decision to use it in reference to engagements with members of the former refugees' broader community stems from Malkki's suggestion of the notion of refugee having meaning to both the displaced and emplaced. See, Liisa H Malkki, 'Refugees and Exile.'

However, when Borerwe insisted that he wanted to know our full identities before considering to "allow us to engage with people," I had no choice but to inform him that I and my colleagues were sons of Mutare, Mutasa and Nyanga districts and that we were also in the employee of the Museums and Monuments of Zimbabwe. Even though Borerwe made remarks that being a government employee strengthened my credentials, he still insisted on knowing who else had given us permission to undertake research in the district. Again, when I informed him that I had passed through the DA's office, he commented that such a gesture although commendable, was not good enough. He advised me to ask for permission from local traditional leadership first before talking to former refugees whom he reckoned were numerous in Mutasa district. Even though Borerwe later referred me to the Samushonga family, he only did so after warning me to guard against committing further abominable sins. According to him, I had not fully observed the rituals of *chivanhu*[41] normally required before a person can start researching sensitive phenomena such as refugees. For him, observance of refugee research rituals entailed that a researcher be granted permission by both the local official leadership represented by the DA and the ground level local leadership in the form of village heads, headmen or even the chiefs.

2.4 On research rituals and the meaning of a refugee

Whereas there is extensive oral history literature emphasising that oral history practice is a result of negotiations,[42] it is important to highlight that most of these works dwelt on how socio-cultural issues shape such negotiations. The same scholarship is silent on political intervention in social matters, especially in countries that profess abidance to constitutional democratic[43] principles such as Zimbabwe. As for my fieldwork experiences, the closest that we have to oral history scholarship hinting on the role of political issues in research is that of

[41] Chivanhu implies a term used by the Shona people to denote good humanly conduct. It is expressed by one's respect of an area's cultural practices through performances of rituals such as paying tribute to its traditional leadership structures. Borerwe used it in this context to express his displeasure on my non-performances of such rituals.

[42] Joan Sangster, 'Politics and Praxis in Canadian Working-Class Oral History' in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp 59-72 who requested us to understand "Oral history theory and practice" as "inescapably intertwined, and both molded by international currents of thought, as well as more specific national, regional, intellectual, and social influences."

[43] By invoking the notion of democratic constitutionalism, my argument is arising from the various bills of rights granted to individual citizens as enshrined in most democratic constitutions. The right to expression is one of the several rights that are enshrined in Zimbabwe's constitution.

Erin Jessee[44] and Sherna Gluck.[45] Both Jessee and Gluck "regretted" the "effects of the political climate[s]"[46] of the areas where they were working. Jessee for example, mentioned that "during the course of" her "fieldwork," she "encountered pressure to hand over the names of" her "informants and fieldnotes to the authorities."[47] On the other hand, political issues made both Jessee and Gluck "obscure the identities" of their "informants" and not to reveal them respectively. However, despite Jessee and Gluck's works sharing similarities with the current one, both authors did not mention the role of the political in getting to their informants in the first place. Jessee's refusal to hand over names of her "informants and fieldnotes"[48] could have been a sure case of deportation or even arrest had she been conducting her research in the post 2000 Zimbabwe context in which I found myself attempting to historicise war refugees' experiences.[49]

Unlike in Jessee and Gluck's cases whereby a researcher can get to respondents and then worry about political matters afterwards, the situation was different with my case. As I discovered, conducting an oral history interview is not a matter that involves only the interviewer and the interviewee but a host of other people and institutions who claim to be stakeholders in such history. According to Borerwe's suggestion, no refugee research can be conducted without rituals. Both C and Borerwe suggested that refugees were not active but passive agents[50] of their own history. Therefore, what this implies was that there was a complicity in my position as a researcher. It was simply not possible to go directly to people's homesteads to ask them if they were former refugees or not and if they knew of any

[44] Erin Jessee, 'The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and methodology amid highly politicised research settings' in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp 674-688.

[45] Sherna Gluck quoted in Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (Broadway, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995), p 100

[46] Ibid

[47] Erin Jessee, 'The Limits of Oral History Ethics and methodology amid highly politicised research settings'

[48] Erin Jessee, 'The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and methodology amid highly politicised research settings'

[49] For instance, in Zimbabwe, two pieces of legislation namely the Public Order and Security Act and Access (POSA) to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) initially published in 2002 were specifically crafted to deal with such cases. See, for example, Derek Matyszak, *Law Politics and Zimbabwe's 'Unity' Government* (Harare: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2010), p 165

[50] I borrowed this phrasing from David Chappell, 'Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonised Historiography or Problematic Paradigm', *The Contemporary Pacific* Vol. 7 No. 2 (FALL 1995), pp 303-236. Whereas Chappell used the phrase to question whether 'Pacific Islanders' were 'active agents in their own past,' or were 'passive victims simply acted on by outsiders,' I use the phrasing to argue that refugees were not masters of their own destiny but were under surveillance from forces that claimed a control over them.

people who were refugees. Such behaviour, as Borerwe had suggested, constituted deliberate disobedience of rituals underlying refugees' research.

When I returned to Zimbabwe in August 2017 with the intention of carrying out a full oral history study on refugees' experiences, I was determined to follow Borerwe's advice on obeying research rituals. Although the approach of the local informant had realised results, the decision to discard it came after a careful assessment of the challenges it posed in conducting research amongst rural communities. As it turned out, the original progenitor of this approach Z, was probably ignorant of issues of surveillance rural communities were subjected to under the ruler-ship of a war narrative.[51] Whereas Z might have been ignorant of the existence of rituals underpinning research, his behaviour provided a mirror into ascriptions given to the meaning of things by people from different persuasions. For Z, most probably representing the views of urbanised Zimbabweans, refugees were subjects that can be accessed directly and account for their own historical legacies to enable researchers to produce and propagate historical knowledge about them. For rural inhabitants, grounded in the space where the concerned research is supposed to be conducted, access and production of knowledge can only be done through following accepted channels.

However, it also turned out that Z above was not alone in his ignorance of supposed channels and ways of approaching refugee histories. After I had concluded my preliminary study; I received a call from ADA Mukome who wanted me to "report to their offices as soon as possible." When I got to the DA's offices, Mukome told me that I had omitted something when I presented my credentials to him earlier. As he explained, his superior, the DA had alerted him to an oversight that he had not initially realised. He wanted me to put my request to conduct field research in writing.

With regards to the above, the question is whether these suggestions by the grounded rural informants and leadership suggest anything about current or historical ideological perceptions of the Zimbabwe nation state on phenomena such as refugees? In addition, what does such behaviour entail on the meaning of refugees as a subject that has been missing from mainstream historical narratives? What is the bigger picture that we can deduce from the insistence that refugees have to be approached through skirting imposed physical barriers between them and the researchers? However, as I will show in this section, whereas the act of

[51] In fact, the war narrative was by that time being referred to as the Third Chimurenga

following prescribed rituals can be stressful to a researcher, there are benefits that can be accrued from studying the meaning of such practices. Even though for the oral historian, most of what transpires in observance of these rituals normally escapes the audio recording, there is a wide spectrum of knowledge that we get about the meanings of an event and its representation especially on the ascription of meaning by different categories of people.

Since my preliminary study had been conducted in Mutasa, Bulilima was the preferred first destination for the studies that I planned for August and September 2017. Unlike Mutasa, Bulilima represented a totally different research sphere. Even though Ndebele is widely regarded as the main local language of communication in this part of Zimbabwe, the Kalanga language is also widely spoken.[52] Whereas I had a fair understanding of the Ndebele language, I had none for Kalanga. Such a situation entailed that as far as the fieldwork planning and observance of research rituals that people like Borerwe had insisted on was concerned, there was need to continue deploying the idea of a local link. Thus, in selecting field assistants for this phase of research, Biggie Chikwiramakomo was chosen again to continue rendering assistance in technical research matters.[53] Following the lead of Bozzoli[54] and Angela Impey[55] who conducted research in areas where languages which they were not familiar with were spoken, I employed the services of a Ndebele language speaker to help me negotiate the challenges of the language barrier. I selected for these dual roles of local link and field assistant a colleague and friend based in the city of Bulawayo, Senzeni Khumalo or Makhumalo[56] as she was popularly referred to. Makhumalo represented the old Ndebele aristocracy and hence was more likely to be accepted by the people of that region as one of them.[57]However, unlike in the limited role of Takudzwa Pasipanodya in Mutasa, Makhumalo

[52] In fact, Kalanga is the actual indigenous lingua franca for the area, the Ndebele language only came to be dominant in this region after Mzlikazi Khumalo leader of the Ndebele people had conquered the local Kalanga people. For historical scholarship on the peopling of modern-day Matabeleland region of Zimbabwe, see for example, S. J Ndlovu-Gatsheni, *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, (Rozenberg/Unisa Press; Amsterdam and South Africa, 2009)

[53] Technical matters imply tasks such as taking photographs

[54] B Bozzolli, 'Interviewing the Women of Phokeng'

[55] Angela Impey, 'Sound, Memory and Dis/placement: Exploring sound, song and performance as oral history in the Southern African bordelands' in in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016), pp 595-610

[56] In Ndebele culture, Makhumalo simply means a daughter of the Khumalo clan

[57] Senzeni Khumalo descends from King Mzlikazi Khumalo founder of the Ndebele Kingdom in Zimbabwe

was also expected to perform the extra tasks of observing the necessary rituals and to conduct the oral history interviews.

Makhumalo made fieldwork arrangements before Biggie and I travelled to Bulilima. As part of her preparations, Makhumalo contacted Mswela, the District Cultural Officer (DCO) for Bulilima District and informed him about our plans to conduct oral history interviews with former refugees of the Zimbabwean liberation war era. As Makhumalo later briefed us, Mswela had already informed his superior, the DA for Bulilima, Mrs E Moyo about our impending visit. According to Mswela, Mrs Moyo had given the green light to proceed with the field research. Makhumalo had also reached out to Chief Masendu in whose area we were supposed to conduct part of the field studies. Chief Masendu assured us about the provision of accommodation during the fieldwork. In this regard, Makhumalo had observed all the required rituals.

We arrived in Plumtree, the main centre for both Bulilima and Mangwe districts on the 23rd August 2017, and went to the DA's office to inform her about our physical presence in the district. However, when we arrived, the DA was not present but Mswela was available. Since according to Mswela, the DA was already aware of our research purpose, we needed to pay courtesy calls to other government department offices informing them about our presence.[58] After completion of the formalities, Mswela suggested that we concentrate our research in Chiefs Masendu and Madhlambudzi's areas. He indicated that these areas were some of the most affected during the war due to their proximity to the Botswana border. Thus, we proceeded to Chief Masendu's court.

We met the Chief and his secretary Freeman Dube, at the Chief's court at Masendu Business Centre. Makhumalo introduced the research team and herself, as the person who had previously talked to him on the phone, about a refugees' research matter. She officially informed Chief Masendu that we had arrived in his area to carry out refugees' oral history interviews as previously discussed. At that instance, the Chief said, as an afterthought, he had decided not to grant us permission to conduct oral history interviews because the issue of refugees was a highly sensitive matter. When we told him that we had passed through the DA's office and that she was aware of our presence, he demanded to see whether such

[58] The government departments visited included the Central Intelligence Organisation (CIO) offices and Plumtree Rural District Council Offices. Mswela also introduced us to a Mr Moyo of the ZANU PF Plumtree District offices.

permission had been granted in writing. We told him of our meeting with Mswela and the introductions that we had done in various government departments in Plumtree, but he insisted that only the word of the DA will make him change his position. He decided to call the DA and in the conversation that then ensued between the two, the DA denied ever granting us any permission to conduct what she referred to as a sensitive study. Even though she acknowledged that Mswela had informed her about some researchers intending to study refugees, the DA stated that Mswela had not informed her that the research methodology involved engaging with the refugees directly. Chief Masendu informed us that there was nothing he could do to help but advised us to return to Plumtree and plead our case with the DA.

We reported back to the DA's offices the following morning and this time we found her. I presented my credentials to her. Just like Portelli had said about revealing oneself and what Said had also warned on the need for an "intellectual" to guard against being "reduced" to a "faceless professional,"[59] I also presented a letter that I had been granted by the Government of Zimbabwe to proceed on PhD studies in addition to the university ethical clearance form that I had been using all along as my main research credential. When I presented the Government letter,[60] Mrs Moyo wondered why Chief Masendu had not granted me permission to proceed with my study especially when I was in possession of important documents like these. It was upon the production of such credentials that Mrs Moyo finally consented to grant me permission to go ahead with my research. She gave me two letters addressed to Chiefs Masendu and Madhlambudzi asking them to cooperate with me. She then informed us that her decision the previous day was influenced by the fact that refugees were by nature a sensitive political issue. She added that my timing to carry out such a research was also improper given the fact that the country was heading towards the 2018 general elections. As she further justified her position, we were also supposed to consider Bulilima District's location in a region with layered histories, including the Gukurahundi atrocities of the 1980s. She stated that careful consideration was required when dealing with people such as refugees who were victims of multi-layered atrocities that included both the liberation war and the 1980s Gukurahundi tragedy.

[59] Edward W. Said, *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 REITH lectures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), p 11

[60] The study leave granting letter that I handed over to Mrs Moyo was undersigned by the Chief Secretary to the Office of the President and Cabinet, Government of Zimbabwe

Although permission "to talk to refugees" had finally been granted by the highest-ranking official in the District, the DA, this did not mean that all methodological challenges had been transcended. Even though no further problems were encountered upon our return to Chief Masendu's area,[61] the situation was different in Chief Madhlambudzi's area. While the youthful Chief Madhlambudzi had granted us unconditional permission, what then transpired shows that in researching phenomena such as refugees' experiences, not only is there need to negotiate issues around rituals, but also to skirt around local research methodologies. As I found out, my own research methods were in conflict with those of the locals. However, as I will show in the following section, these local methodologies indicated two issues about refugees. Firstly, as previously argued, they were indicative of the "emplaced"'s own knowledge about refugee identities. Secondly, they were also indicators of the struggle that has always characterised the domain of historical knowledge production about groups such as refugees whose legacies had previously never been assigned any form of importance in the public sphere, but subsequently found themselves in that position simply because of academic research. Although there were different groups who claimed to be vested in these local methods of research, all of them were unified in their claims of a different kind of knowledge and custodianship to refugees and refugee histories as well as servant-hood to the nation state.

2.5 Researcher's methodology versus the local's methodologies

In their respective works on refugees, Alderman[62] and Hansen[63] raised two critical issues whose meaning has not been adequately explored especially in cases of post refugee settings. Alderman raised issues about the manipulation of refugees in camps and other refugee settings.[64] On his part, Hansen posed the critical question "when does a person stop being a refugee and why?"[65] Although Alderman and Hansen made their postulations with an eye on

[61] In fact, we only met Chief Masendu again when we paid a courtesy call to inform him that we had concluded fieldwork in his area

[62] H Alderman, 'The Use and Abuse of Refugees in Zaire', in Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics and the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington, DC: Bookings Institution Press, 2003)

[63] A Hansen, 'Some Insights on African Refugees', in Pamela A DeVoe (eds) *Selected Papers on Refugee Issues* (A Committee of the General Anthropology Division: American Anthropological Association, 1992)

[64] H Alderman 'The Use and Abuse of Refugees in Zaire'

[65] A Hansen, 'Some Insights on African Refugees'

refugees still in refugee circumstances, this thesis argues that, once ascribed, the notion of refugee is difficult to undo in the same way it is difficult to remove the ascription of a solider from an individual who was once one.[66] Even though refugee life had been experienced thirty-seven years before this study was embarked upon, the notion was still subjected to various forms of manipulation that conform to the permanent nature of its ascription. In agreement with Malkki, when refugees experience such life, they adopt a new form of "a culture" and "identity" of "refugeeness"[67]which becomes a permanent attachment.

I started my second day of research in Chief Madhlambudzi's area with Makhumalo continuing to conduct the oral history interviews started the previous day at the dip tank. This time the interviews were being conducted inside the vehicle underneath a tree within the precinct of the business centre. As I was busy observing the interviews from a distance, Grey Ndlovu, Chief Madhlambudzi's secretary informed me that the local councillor wanted to have a word with me at the Council Hall. When I went to the Council Hall accompanied by Biggie and Grey Ndlovu, I realised that the local councillor, a woman, was in the company of another individual, a man. Grey Ndlovu introduced me to the woman and man as the person who was doing refugees' research in the area. He in turn introduced the woman and man as the local councillor for Madhlambudzi Central Ward and the local war veterans' chairperson respectively.

The woman introduced herself as Mrs Dumani and indicated that she had landed that post on a ZANU PF party ticket, and it was to that party that she paid her allegiance. Therefore, she "did not want to play witness to things that will backfire against her." On his part, the man and local war veterans' leader who said his name was Tshuma, wanted to know how "people from Cape Town" had come all the way to research refugees in Madhlambudzi area. I indicated to him that the DA had granted explicit permission and had written affirming letters to both Chief Madhlambudzi and Masendu. In addition, I also informed him that contrary to his perception that I "was a person from Cape Town," I was in fact, a Zimbabwean studying in Cape Town. As evidence, I produced copies of the two chiefs' letters, my national identity card and my university ethics clearance letter.

Despite the production of confirmatory documents, Tshuma made it clear that these were irrelevant, adding that both the DA and the Chief had no jurisdiction over former refugee

[66] G Maringira, Soldiers in Exile

[67] Liisa H Malkki, 'Refugees and Exile'

matters. He emphasised that refugees were a matter for the political and only the political can grant permission for their study. When I informed him that I had also paid a courtesy call at the ZANU PF offices in Plumtree, Tshuma wanted to know the name of the person whom we had met there. When I mentioned that I had been introduced to Moyo at ZANU PF Plumtree offices, Tshuma immediately called him. In their conversation, I overheard Tshuma accusing the person on the other side why he had not bothered to inform him "as the person on the ground" about strangers visiting the area. After the call, Tshuma informed us that despite our gesture to pass through the ZANU PF offices in Plumtree, "as the person on the ground," he had decided to refuse us permission to proceed with the research. When I realised that Tshuma meant every word that he was uttering, I informed him that in a way, the Government of Zimbabwe knew that I was undertaking PhD studies in Cape Town. Again, he wanted to see documentation that supported such a claim. He only consented after I produced the same letter that I had presented to the DA.

Tshuma reiterated that refugees were a political subject and not a traditional one. As he further explained, we had used a wrong approach to "consult with people such as the DA and the local traditional leadership." To prove his point, he then called another man whom he introduced as the Madhlambudzi Refugees Association (MRA) Chairperson and instructed him to fetch the register. Tshuma also instructed the MRA chairperson to inform members of his organisation who were part of community members working at the council hall to attend the interview sessions. In this case, by referring to the register, Tshuma had introduced a new form of methodology, different to the ones used by Freeman Dube in Chief Masendu's area and Grey Ndlovu representing Chief Madhlambudzi the previous day. In Masendu, Freeman Dube had drafted a list of former refugees whose homesteads were closer to the business centre. Grey Ndlovu took advantage of a community meeting to inform "refugees of the Zimbabwean liberation war era and not those of the Gukurahundi period, to go and get interviewed." And at this instance, Tshuma had introduced that of the register.

Whereas Tshuma's behaviour can be interpreted in terms of the methodological implications it poses to the researcher's methods versus his own as a local, there are many questions that arise from his actions. The main such question is: was his assertion merely indicative of conflicts that exist between local and researcher's methodologies or did it point to the larger picture of the problems of discourse ownership? As already explained, the issue that is at the heart of the study is the need to have a representative history of refugees. However, as we have seen, what was evident in Tshuma's behaviour was his persistent quest to forward the

message that refugees were not responsible for their own histories. For him, they constituted a subordinating legacy and cannot speak on their own behalf without some form of authorisation from their superiors namely the war veterans or the party leadership. For this thesis, as I argue, the layered structure that Tshuma was trying to rope in through the avenue of incorrect research approaches is not a representation of refugees' history but depicts the general fears that dominant groups always have on narratives that have a potential to challenge supposed official versions normally associated with them. As Foucault observed:

> Discourse is not simply that which translates struggles or systems of domination, but is the thing for which there is a struggle, discourse is the power which is to be seized.[68]

As the refugees' narratives presented in the succeeding chapter will show, most of the refugees challenge the subordinate position that Tshuma wanted to ascribe to them by alluding to an independent discourse free of ownership and domination by dominant groups. As Chapters 4 to 6 will show, these narratives revealed parallel and new histories about the experiences of refugees in Zimbabwe's liberation war.

I returned back to Mutasa district after conducting research in Bulilima. However, during my preliminary research interviews with Jane and the Samushonga family, one particular trend that I decoded from their narrations was their invocation of a place called St Peters located in Sub Chief Mandeya's area. According to them, they used to live in the area around St Peters before fleeing to Mozambique. Upon their return after the war had ended, both respondents decided to migrate to Muparutsa area citing traumatisation by what they referred to as the "insecurity of the border"[69] represented by the St Peters' area. Thus, from their sentiments, I decided to focus my attention to Sub Chief Mandeya's area during the 2017 round of fieldwork.

Taking notes from previous lessons in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area as well as in Bulilima, I decided to present my credentials to Sub Chief Mandeya first before I could do anything in his area. My meeting with Sub Chief Mandeya took place at Mandeya Business Centre and it was short and brief. The resultant meeting reified the theory manufactured by Tshuma in Bulilima that refugees were a subject matter approachable only through localised research

[68] M Foucault, 'The order of discourse', in R. Young (Ed) *(1981), Untying the text: a post-structural anthology* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981), pp. 48-78

[69] Jane Mharapara, Interview and Weston B, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Samushonga homestead, Headman Muparutsa's area, Mutasa district, 8 September 2016

methods. Thus, in addition to asking for his *mushumo* or token of consultation, Sub Chief Mandeya only wanted clarity on two issues: whether the DA was aware of our presence in Mutasa District and assurance that my project was "not going to confuse his people." Therefore, in order for him to guard against this, he proposed that he was going to deploy people who were going to accompany me as "his ears and eyes in the" in the refugees' oral history research "project."[70] Thus, Mathew Chisuko and Mandeya were present at all interviews subsequently conducted in Mandeya.

2.6 Towards the production of a history for refugees: Interviewing former refugees

This thesis is anchored by the oral narratives of people who experienced refugee life during the struggle for Zimbabwe's liberation. Despite facing numerous research challenges documented in the previous section, forty-seven oral history interviews were conducted in both Bulilima and Mutasa districts. Whereas oral history was the medium used to conduct these interviews, the overall approach adopted during the life history interviews can best be defined as a creole of anthropological and oral history methods. My adaptation of this method was premised on the argument that although refugee life was individually experienced, there was also need to note that the histories concerned were "embedded in ideologies" of a "dominant discourse,"[71]namely the struggle. As a result, it was simply not possible to engage with individuals who experienced the event in conditions expected of a normal oral history interview without arousing the interest of their family or community members whom they were "inextricably connected to."[72]

However, for this study the above standpoint does not entail retrogression in the expected study results. Unlike other forms of life stories, refugee life as a public story is one whose meanings are ascribed by communities and families of people who experienced such a life. The refugee individual does not ascribe these for him or herself. The same applies to their identity, it is the communities and families who confirm it. My intention was therefore not to

[70] Although Mathew Chisuko and Mandeya were the Headman's official appointees, his secretary of court, and local ZANU PF chairperson for the area elected to be present on the first interview that I conducted in the area.

[71] Ronald J Grele quoted in Yvette J. Kopijn, 'The Oral History Interview in Cross-Cultural Setting: An Analysis of its Linguistic, Social and Ideological Stricture', in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) Narrative and Genre: Contexts and Types of Communication (New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2009), pp 142-159

[72] Yvette J. Kopijn, 'The Oral History Interview in Cross-Cultural Setting'

relegate the individual who experienced the event to a position where they cannot define their own status. This is consistent with the argument that in an oral history interview, what we get most from an informant are descriptions of what the historical event under consideration was all about more than about its multiple meanings.

In the above interplay, my role as a researcher was to analyse and interpret the circumstances when clues to these identities, meanings and history emerged during the course of the study. Thus, following Dudley's findings about the areas where oral history method needed augmentation, I adopted an approach whereby my oral interviews were strongly backed by anthropological principles. In encouraging such approaches, Dudley had noted that, "Whereas ethnography erases the text producing activities of the informant, oral history erases the text- producing activities of the interviewer."[73] Thus, for Dudley, there was need to move towards a method that prohibits the erasure of both interviewer and interviewee's activities. However, it is also important to note that apart from Dudley, debates in oral history studies have also been tilting towards these field considerations as a way of maximising the benefits that can be accrued from oral history approaches. According to Kopijn's summary of the changing trends:

> Over the years, however, oral historians have come to realise that life stories are not transparent as they seem. They do not reveal objective truths, but truths of the interviewee. So, it is only through interpretation that we can fully understand life stories, paying careful attention to the contexts that shape their creation[74]

Elizabeth Tonkin also supported Kopijn's methodological standpoint by declaring that:

> The oral conditions mean that oral accounts or life stories are actively "dialogic": social activities in real time', since remembering and telling are themselves events, they will clearly be misunderstood if they are treated as texts in themselves detached from the oral conditions of production[75]

[73] Kathryn M. Dudley, 'In the Archive, In the Field: What Kind of Document is 'Oral History'?', in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) Narrative and Genre: Contexts and Types of Communication (New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2009), pp 160-166

[74] Yvette J. Kopijn, 'The Oral History Interview in Cross-Cultural Setting'

[75] Elizabeth Tonkin quoted in Yvette J. Kopijn, 'The Oral History Interview in Cross-Cultural Setting'

Therefore, apart from the fact that the history presented in this thesis was moulded from the oral narrations of the interviewees, its meaning was shaped by a careful analysis of the events that transpired in both the field and during the course of the oral interviews.

As stated earlier, I made an appearance at Jane's homestead already with a picture of her identity as a former refugee. Although during the interview, Jane declared that she could not remember much because "she never went to school," this did not entail that I had to derive my discursive themes only from studying aspects of the experiences that she remembered. Instead, I had to use other methods to understand the experiences of my respondents. These included observing respondents' behaviour when answering questions. As such, I had to find the meaning of the experiences through reflecting on the behavioural differences that were taking place during the interview. For instance, when I posed a question on images of the deaths that she witnessed during the Nyadzonia bombing, she did not try to hide behind her lack of education as a limitation to her remembering in the same way she did to most of the questions throughout the interview. Apart from increasing the tempo of her voice, she just warned me "not remind her about that event." This was different from the low tone which she had used when responding to other questions during our interview. Thus, as Kopijn along with Portelli observed, apart from narration itself, there is a need to take notice of "paralinguistic flows" during interviews. Therefore, the interpretations appearing in the succeeding chapters were not only derived from analysing spoken words. They are a result of historical clues that emanated from questions on why certain respondents behaved differently to questions about some key events. These clues reify the substantiality of questions on why emphasis on post war Zimbabwe remembrance has been on how these memories of the war still haunted those who fought in it[76] and not ordinary refugees like Jane whose behaviour suggests a haunting by similar traumatic effects.

Similarly, at the Samushonga family homestead, there were a number of things that transpired within the interview set up that not only obliterates issues of privacy in an oral history interview but also demonstrates why it is important to pay attention to the "oral condition of production." When I interviewed Samushonga, his two wives who were also refugees in Mozambique during the war, were present. Although this setup in a way contradicted the private face to face dictates of a normal history interview, some benefits

[76] Sadomba for instance claims that war veterans still suffer from post-traumatic disorders. In fact, in 1994 the political leadership looted the war victims compensation fund by claiming ridiculous awards for issues such as trauma, injuries and losses incurred during the war.

were derived from their attendance. Firstly, while acknowledging Kopijn's advice that the success of interviews "depends on the interviewer's capacity for allowing 'native' communicative routines," I accepted patriarchal arrangements consistent with most local families when Mr Samushonga responded to my questions first. However, in response to questions about relations between Mozambican host citizens and their refugee Zimbabwean counterparts and also on experiences of repatriation, Mr Samushonga responded in a manner that his senior wife Ronia Mwamuka could not accept. In both occasions, when Mr Samushonga responded that the relations were cordial and that they were treated very well upon their repatriation, Ronia interjected and asked him to "tell these people the truth."

The Samushonga incident was to replicate itself in another interview that I later had with Peter Makureya in Sub Chief Mandeya's area. When I asked Makureya about his experiences of post war treatment, his wife Evelyn Makwara, who was also present at the interview scene, was not pleased by her husband's response. Using the same method of interjection, Evelyn simply addressed him and said, "*Sekuru vaJane! Urikuda kusvisa here*? Meaning, "Grandfather of Jane! Do you want to hide information?"[77] Just like in the Samushonga incident previously, Makureya then gave a different narrative, which his wife did not only accept but also concurred.

Whereas the two incidents expose the weaknesses of oral history for its reliance on the narrator's truths, it gave this study an opportunity to construct interpretations based on questions that ask why narrators were not at liberty to disclose important information about what happened to them. For instance, as Evelyn later revealed when she was assisting Makureya with the new narrative, he had almost "lost his life through beatings that he received at the hands of the guerrillas at Keep 7[78] on the eve of independence." However, in spite of the silences, these are also a reification of the central argument posed in this thesis on the story of refugees transcending liberation consciousness boundaries imposed by post-colonial historical literature. As Chapters 4 to 7 will show, these two incidences gave rise to previously silenced dimensions pertaining to the experiences of refugees during the struggle for Zimbabwe's independence. As the narratives will explain, parallel to the popularised stories of patriotism, there is also that of the ambivalent nature of the refugee category.

[77] In the audio record, Evelyn Makwara's interjection also comes out clearly. See, Peter Makureya, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Makwara Village, Sub chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa District, 8 September 2017

[78] Protected Villages (PVs) were also known as Keeps during the war

However, in the Bulilima interviews, I could not derive my interpretations from interjections in the same way as in Mutasa. Due to the aforementioned language problems in Bulilima, Makhumalo conducted twenty of the twenty-three interviews. Even though my initial plan was to attend the interview scene, I abandoned this on the fourth interview after observing the body languages of the respondents during the interviews. Firstly, despite the fact that it was Makhumalo conducting the interviews, the respondents, mostly female had realised that the project was mine. In fact, in her introductions, Makhumalo always explained that aspect. Furthermore, they also realised that despite my communicative incapacitation, I understood the Ndebele language.

During the interviews, although I had introduced Makhumalo to the basic methods of conducting an oral history interview, there were situations whereby I felt that she was not adequately following up on the interviewees' responses. In that case, I would react by scribbling some notes on a piece of paper that I then passed over to her. Each moment when I did this, I became the focus of attention and hence the uneasiness of my respondents as well as a lack of confidence in Makhumalo. Thus, in as much as I understood that there are silences in every respondent's narration, I did not want to exacerbate them hence I recused myself after the fourth interview. However, my decision not to attend further interview scenes also contributed to the opening up of female respondents especially on stories related to issues of gender and sexual encounters between female refugees and male combatants discussed in the succeeding chapters. As will be shown, the dimensions of such issues did not emerge in Mutasa District in the way they did in Bulilima. The reason for such variations was that in Mutasa, I conducted the interviews and in Bulilima it was Makhumalo, who was in charge.

However, my non-attendance of the rest of interviews in Bulilima did not entail that there were no other circumstances whereby issues of the multiplicity of the refugee dimensions also emerged other than the actual interview encounters. For instance, when a group of former refugees in Madhlambudzi staged a protest against the long duration of time Makhumalo was taking to interview one respondent, issues that have implications on both the manner in which people tell their personal stories as well as how different people ended up in refugee situations also emerged. During the tense moment, a woman who had already been interviewed approached me and told me not to worry myself with individuals leading the protests. According to her, those people were not "genuine refugees" as they only went to exile to "flee from crimes of theft" committed in "Mabutweni township of Bulawayo".

Although the respondents accused by this woman never mentioned crimes of theft as the causative reason for their flight[79] when they were eventually interviewed, the woman's accusations were nevertheless an important hint to other circumstances that led people to refugee lives. For oral history as a method, the silences by the accused or their decision to shift their narratives from reality to suit present day political circumstances entails its weakness. On the other hand, for war refugees as a concept, the allegations levelled against the duo feeds into arguments posed in this thesis of an over exaggeration of liberation consciousness amongst the black population of the country. As the multiple dimensions of the refugee category will be discussed, for some respondents from both Bulilima and Mutasa, consciousness only appeared at a certain stage of their refugee experiences. Some were not even politicised at all.

Although I have dwelt more on explanations of dimensions that emanated from interviews, it is important to speak about the manner in which issues of respondents' protection were considered in the study. Despite talking about community members determining the methodological approach and being present at interview scenes, the same also has positive consequences as far as the issue of informant protection was concerned. Due to the emphasis that the state was putting on war as an emancipatory public narrative, denying interested community members access to interview scenes could prove disastrous. In most of the cases, due to their feeling that they were interested parties to the histories being discussed, the possibility of informants being interrogated or even harmed after the departure of a researcher could not have been ruled out. Therefore, when I took the decision to allow the political and traditional leaders' representatives to attend interview scenes, my act also assured the security of my interviewees from possible victimisations after the interviews. In attending the interview, both the political and traditional actors got first-hand information that the interviews' concern was about experiences of a historical past namely the liberation war and not about present political contests.

However, it is important to note that my approach above considered two of the three mitigating suggestions posited by Philippe Denis on what a researcher should do if a

[79] Despite one of the accused respondents attesting to commitment of crime before his flight, he nevertheless cited the reason for his arrest and subsequent flight as stemming from political issues and not crime.

proposed research "entails risks for participants."[80] In posing a question on what a researcher should do in circumstances of volatility, Denis proposed that a researcher can see if "these risks can be minimised," or modify the research project or abandon it altogether.[81] Thus, as I have argued, the whole essence of embarking on this study was to include the refugee voices in the historical grand narrative. The premising of this study was based on the argument that refugees have remained a hugely unstudied discourse of Zimbabwe's liberation war. By privileging the conduct of an oral history interview and protection of interviewees after an interview over issues of confidentiality and privacy that are not guaranteed in situations whereby interviews are conducted in the presence of outsiders, the intended beneficiary of all this will be history itself as a subject. However, whereas Denis might have been right in his own way, his last suggestion listed above nevertheless overlooked the importance of collecting valuable historical information whenever a situation to do so presented itself. In this case, waiting for political circumstances to change might take a whole generation meaning that adaptation of Denis' last suggestion of abandoning the project might entail the disappearance of such histories before their recording. As Ritchie warned on the dangers of respondent anonymity, discontinuing an oral history project without trying to find ways of negotiating around the problem "clashes with some of oral history's fundamental objectives" of giving "voice to the voiceless."[82] Instead, not doing the project contributes to the silencing of the same voices.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter explained the requirements of accounting for historical legacies seldom considered in mainstream representations. The main argument is that we can only begin to construct a history of refugees through engaging people who experienced the event. Through such an approach, there will be a revelation of the multiple dimensions of the historical event under consideration. In order to produce inclusive histories of refugees, we must first explore the discursive issues involved. Refugees were simply an event whose dimensions cannot be understood through a single discursive framework. As Foucault noted, with discourse, it

[80] Philippe Denis, 'Ethics of Oral History', in Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane (eds) *Oral History in a Wounded Country: Interactive Interviewing in South Africa* (University of KwaZulu-Natal Press: South Africa, 2008), p 63-84

[81] ibid

[82] Donald A Ritchie, *Doing Oral History*

"never consists of one statement, one text, one action or one source"[83] Similarly, this chapter has demonstrated that we cannot understand refugees through the perspective of those who flocked to refugee camps only. Instead, there were many forms of refuge other than the camp. As a public category, refugees' meanings can also be revealed in different ways. Whereas the state and public officials' intentions were about controlling the production of refugee knowledge, their actions actually revealed more meanings on what a refugee is. The same also applies to those who remained "emplaced" who were able to point out their peers who were refugees.

[83] Foucault quoted in Stuart Hall, 'Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse', in Margaret Wetherell et al (eds) Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader (London, Thousand Oaks, New Dehli: Sage Publications, 2001), p 72

CHAPTER 3

WRITING THE REFUGEES IN HISTORY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the biographies of nine former refugees whose narratives reflect diversities derived from the narrations of the forty-seven who participated in this study. These biographies were constructed from narratives volunteered by the refugees during 2016 and 2017 field studies discussed in the preceding chapter. A particular feature of these biographies is that they affirm the central argument of this thesis on the multiple experiences and meanings that can be derived from a single event. The meanings and perceptions of an event, as Portelli also observed with his research subject Ferrucio Mauri, vary from one individual to another. According to Portelli, when Benito Mussolini, the Italian ruler of the time, announced Italy's entry into the war in 1942, Mauri recalled being excited about the war while others around him "were deeply worried."[1] Thus, as the example biographies profiled below demonstrate, there were several reasons why people crossed the then Rhodesia's borders as refugees.[2] In as much as there were multiple experiences of the same war, there were also multiple meanings, both similar and different, about the same event to individuals. The example biographies presented here also reflects how the refugee problem affected people across gender and age divide. Arrangement of biographies is alphabetically and not according to districts, Bulilima and Mutasa.

3.1 Buyile Dube

Buyile Dube was born in Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima district in 1962 in a family of 6 and is the only surviving member. She grew up with her grandmother in the Masendu area and went to school there. When Buyile was growing up, her parents adhered to traditional religion while children attended Zion, a Christian church. At school, Buyile's favourite subject was mathematics and she was nicknamed Sethulile, meaning a quiet person in Ndebele language. After completion of her third grade, Buyile dropped out of school because her grandmother could no longer afford to pay her school fees. In 1978, when she was 16 years old Buyile left

[1] Alessandro Portelli, *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue*, Madison, Wisconsin: The University of Wisconsin Press,1997, p 83

[2] The rest of the biographies are profiled in Annexure 1 of this thesis

for Botswana in the company of other young girls from her area to join the liberation struggle at the behest of her parents. This was after a group of armed young men had moved around her area threatening parents that "if they continue keeping young boys and girls old enough to be participating in the struggle, they were going to burn their houses." When Buyile crossed the border, she was picked up by a truck at Memwe, which took them to Tutume and thereafter to Francistown and Selebi Pikwe. In Pikwe, Buyile was selected as one of those who were "loyal" to go to Zambia for military training. In Zambia, she stayed at Victory Camp and was present when some inmates were killed in a fire accident caused by a lamp. Buyile repatriated to independent Zimbabwe in 1980. Thereafter, she attended school in Ntabazinduna but was unable to continue after completion of grade seven because "I was too old for school." She later married a man from Kezi area of Matabeleland South province and had three kids. She returned to her parents' homestead after the death of her husband. At present Buyile resides in Chief Masendu's area.

Photography 1. Buyile Dube speaking to Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

3.2 Peter Makureya

Peter Makureya was born in a family of ten in Mandeya, Honde Valley in 1942. According to Peter, his family are *vaMwenye*, an ethnic group that claims Islamic origins and still abide by such a culture. Peter started going to school in 1961. Upon leaving school, he went to look for employment in the then Salisbury, now Harare. He got employment at a white man's house and his main duty was to look after the white man's daughter who had a psychiatric problem. Peter got married to his wife Evelyn, a girl who was arranged for him by his younger brother in 1969. In 1977, Peter left Rhodesia for Mozambique to join his family that had sought refuge there. In Mozambique, Peter lived in chiefs Makore and Nenhanga's areas. He was later conscripted into RENAMO. He ceased to be a member of RENAMO at independence after he was left behind by RENAMO when they changed bases to present day Mpumalanga province of South Africa. On the eve of independence, Peter was badly beaten by guerrillas at Keep 7 in Mandeya after being exposed as a Renamo operative. Presently, Peter still suffers from hearing problems after his ears were injured during the beatings. He resides in Makwara Village with his wife, some of his children and grandchildrenOn the eve of independence, Peter was badly beaten by guerrillas at Keep 7 in Mandeya after being exposed as a Renamo operative. Presently, Peter still suffers from hearing problems after his ears were injured during the beatings. He resides in Makwara Village with his wife, some of his children and grandchildren

Photography 2. Interview with Peter Makureya in the presence of his wife, Evelyn and son (red shirt). Village head Makwara and Headman Mandeya's aides are also in the photo, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

3.3 Temba Male

Temba Male was born in the Chihanga area of Bulilima district on the 23rd of September 1952. After completion of standard 6 in 1968, Temba found employment as a shop keeper in the Hingwe area of Bulilima. In 1977, when she was working at that shop, Temba and her colleague were abducted by a lone gunman who wanted to recruit them into the liberation war. After the gunman had told Temba and her colleague that he was going to murder all their family back home in then Rhodesia should they attempt to flee, the gunman left them in the hands of Induna Memwe in Botswana. From Induna Memwe's place, Temba and her colleague were later ferried to Francistown. In Francistown, whilst still in fear of the gunman, Temba and her colleague professed allegiance to the liberation movement of ZAPU then led by Joshua Nkomo. She was later moved to Selebi Pikwe where she found many people who had also left the then Rhodesia. From Pikwe, Temba was flown to Zambia where she worked as a teacher at VC camp. She was exempted from undergoing training activities because during that time she was pregnant. Whilst in Zambia Temba also went to Mtenderi and Kafue in the company of famed heroine, Ruth Nyamurowa. At independence, she returned to

Zimbabwe and worked as a school teacher for 12 years. She married a church pastor, who passed away in 2012. Currently Temba stays at her homestead in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima.

Photography 3. Temba Male, white blouse speaks to Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

3.4 Elias Moyo

Elias Moyo was born in 1946 in Bulilima and he started attending school in 1958. After leaving school, Elias worked briefly as a garden boy in Bulawayo before returning to Bulilima in 1971. Upon his return, he found work in a shop owned by his former school teacher. However, in 1978, when Elias was visiting his uncles, he came across members of the Auxiliary, a military wing linked to Abel Muzorewa's political party, who shot at him. As he remembers that day, the 17th of May 1978, a bullet just missed him by a whisker as it flew slightly over his head. After the near miss, Elias decided to skip the border into Botswana on the 18th of May 1978 without informing his wife and children. He fled through Hingwe area before crossing the border in the Maitengwe area. Upon getting to Maitengwe,

he met others who were also fleeing the war. They were then ferried to Francistown, where Elias remembers meeting Canaan Ncube whom he said was a commander. He ended up in Dukwe camp where he attended grade 7 classes and also fell in love with a girl called S despite the prohibition of such practices in the camp. Upon independence he repatriated back to Zimbabwe and has been living in Chief Madhlambudzi's area.

Photography 4. Senzeni Khumalo interviews Elias Moyo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

3.5 Monica Mudhibhisi

Monica Mudhibhisi was born in Subchief Mandeya's area of Honde Valley. However, she does not know her date of birth as her parents died when she and her siblings were still young. Although Monica enrolled for primary school, she dropped out due to poor performance. According to her, "her teachers didn't help either. They worsened the situation by beating her and thus making her to hate school more." Since she was married to the Kraal head's son, Monica recalls that her family was targeted by both the RSF and the guerrillas. As a result, Monica had to flee to Mozambique, and resided in Chief Nyandiro's area, leaving

her husband who later followed her. However, when the RSF started operating in Mozambican villages, Monica and her family felt unsafe in Nyandiro and decided to go further to Manica Town where she stayed until 1982 after which she returned to Zimbabwe. However, upon return to Zimbabwe, Monica found it difficult to get registration certificates for her children born in Mozambique. She indicated that the differences in polio vaccination marks between Mozambicans and Zimbabweans made it easy for the authorities identify her children as Mozambicans. Her pleas that she went to Mozambique fleeing from the war have not helped her. Until now the children who are now grown-ups have no identity cards.

Photography 5. Author interviews Monica Mudhibhisi, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

3.6 Victor Ncube

Victor Ncube was born in the Bangale area of Bulilima district on the 10th December 1952. His father was a polygamist and he is the first born in a family of 12. Victor never went to school while in Rhodesia and grew up herding cattle. In 1977, he left the then Rhodesia intending to go to *eskiweni* in South Africa, to look for work "so that he could fend for his

family." On his way, Victor was caught by Botswana police near Tutume. Victor was later taken to Francistown where he met other people from the then Rhodesia. From Francistown, Victor went to Selebi Pikwe where he spent a day before being put in a *flymachina* enroute to Zambia. In Zambia, Victor was taken to Nampundu Camp where they spent most of the time doing *toyi toyi*. As he recalled, they were woken up early in the morning to do exercises comprised of number 9 and 6 training. At Nampundu, Victor's commander was Makhanyana and he also remembers the then ZIPRA commander, Alfred Nikita Mangena and Joshua Nkomo visiting the camp to address them. Victor was later taken to Freedom Camp where he was supposed to undergo proper training. He was at that camp when it was bombed by the Rhodesians in 1978. According to him, he does not know how he survived, but remembers being taught before the bombings, that "if war comes, you must do so." After the bombing, Victor was then taken to JZ 2 where he did his grade 1 to 3. At independence, Victor repatriated to Gwayi River camp where he was later given a form to "board buses freely" which he used to go home to Bulilima. After returning, Victor did not stay long. He crossed the border to look for work in South Africa. He has since returned and is living in Chief Madhlambudzi's area. Victor's only lamentation is that he and his colleagues have been calling out to government saying, "remember us" but nothing has materialised. As he elaborated, "it's true that I was going to look for work but I was captured and they then selected me" and therefore they must "remember us."

Photography 6. Victor Ncube speaking to Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

3.7 Tshlonipani Ncube

Tshlonipani Ncube was born on the 1st of January 1962. She is the first born in a family of seven. Her mother passed away whilst she was still young and Tshlonipani had to assume motherly duties at a very young age as she had to look after her younger siblings. Hlonipani never went to school and one of her duties as she was growing up was to herd her father's cattle. One day, Hlonipani heard a song on the radio saying "uNkomo *sizamlandela* (We will follow Nkomo)." After hearing that song, she decided to cross the border into Botswana with the intention of joining the liberation war. She eventually crossed the border through the Maitengwe area from where she then proceeded to Francistown. In Francistown, she found Makepisi being the commander there. Hlonipani was later taken to Selebi Pikwe camp where Tshabangu was the commander. From Selebi Pikwe camp, Hlonipani then went to Dukwi camp and that was in 1978. Although at Dukwi other children were attending school, Hlonipani failed to do so as she had fallen sick after arriving there. However, during her

sickness, Hlonipani remembers dreaming people whom she did not know leading her to some herbs which they advised her to administer to sick people in the camp. After waking up from the dream, Hlonipani followed it up and went to search for the herbs. She found them as directed in the dream and started practicing as a healer. Despite helping other sick people, Hlonipani herself never got better and upon repatriation in 1980, she was still sick. She remembers being taken to several hospitals hoping that she was going to be healed. Such actions were unsuccessful though. It was only after her parents had consulted a traditional healer that they were told that Hlonipani had *amadhlozi* (ancestral spirits) which required appeasement so that she becomes a healer. They followed the advice and until now Hlonipani is still working as healer. She also got married after independence and had 9 children, but one of them has passed away.

Photography 7. Senzeni Khumalo interviews Hlonipani Ncube with blue cloth, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

3.8 Weston B Samushonga

Weston Samushonga was born in the Ngarura area of the Honde Valley under Chief Mutasa in 1951. Members of his dynasty are the traditional installers of the Mutasa chiefs. When he was about to go to school, Weston went to Chegutu, Mashonaland west province, where he had to find work at a farm to fund his education at Mukwasha school. He worked in the morning and attended lessons in the afternoon. In 1961, Weston returned to Honde Valley but was unable to continue with his education. He later taught himself to be a builder so that he could fend for himself. In 1968, Weston was forced by his father to marry following his elder brother's divorce. As a result of the divorce, his older brother's former in laws returned two beasts that had been paid to them as dowry as acknowledgement of their daughter's wrongdoing. Weston's parents advised him to find someone to marry and settle the dowry with those beasts. As a result, Weston married his first wife Ronia in 1969. He later married another wife, Esnathy around 1975. In 1976, the guerrillas and the RSF embarked on mobilisation and counter-mobilisation programs in the Honde Valley. Coupled with full outbreak of the war, Weston decided to flee with his family and neighbours to neighbouring Mozambique. He and his entourage met FRELIMO in Mozambique who took them to Nyadzonia Camp. Weston and his family survived the Nyadzonia attacks of August 1976. Thereafter, he and other refugees were relocated to Doroi camp. Upon repatriation, Weston went to live with his parents in Keep 8, near Ruda. When the people went back to the villages in 1981, Weston decided against going back to his old homestead citing problems of the border as a zone of insecurity. He moved to Muparutsa area where he is living with his wives, children and grandchildren.

Photography 8. The Samushonga family. Weston Samushonga with white beard, Ronia wearing yellow blouse and Esnathy wearing a white hat. The village chairperson wearing a white shirt and Biggie Chikwiramakomo also appear in the photo. Photo by Takudzwa Pasipanodya, Sub Chief Muparutsa's area

3.9 Marian Tsoro

Marian was born in Mandeya area, Honde Valley. She is a descendant of the Makombe dynasty. She does not know the year she was born for "she never went to school." However, when she was born, St James Mandeya was the only school in the area. According to Marian, during that time their parents did not want to send girl children to school. Their excuse was that once educated she would become a prostitute. However, Marian has since forgiven her parents for not sending her to school as she later discovered, "they hid behind all those excuses because they did not want to say we have no money." Marian later found work as a house help in the neighbourhood. According to her the only politician that she knew of in the early 70s was Smith as "she took a national identity card" during his era. However, when the guerrillas started operating in her area in 1975, they introduced her to politics. Her interaction with the guerrillas resulted in her ending up at Doroi refugee camp where she resided for the duration of the war. At Doroi, Marian remembers, "there was great suffering." She repatriated to independent Zimbabwe in 1980 through an Assembly point that was located in

Mtoko district, Mashonaland Province. Presently, she is staying in Chiku village with her husband and grandchildren.

Photography 9. Marian Tsoro showing the mark where she was injured by shrapnel during the war

CHAPTER 4

THE REFUGEES' HISTORIES

4.0 Introduction

Although the war of independence is reputed to have broken out in Rhodesia in 1966,[1] some African Rhodesians were by that time already living out of the country as refugees. This means that in colonial Rhodesia the refugee problem which by 1980, had attained mass proportions, predates the armed conflict that played a critical in Rhodesia's transition to Zimbabwe. Against this background, the purpose of this chapter is to show that prior to year 1975, which Sadomba for example used to define refugees, people were already moving outside the country as refugees due to several reasons that can only be understood through interrogating the meaning of a refugee within the broader history of the struggle against colonialism in Rhodesia. This chapter traces the history of the refugee problem in Rhodesia as a way of identifying how the refugees defined themselves as well as how they were defined by others.

Whilst acknowledging that the war of liberation was a critical factor in the production of mass refugees, I argue that any attempt to decipher what was entailed by refugees' experiences requires approaches that begin by exploring the problem from its base, the genealogical roots. For Rhodesian refugees, such genealogical roots were not in the liberation war in its sense as a physical confrontation but the broader struggle history for Rhodesia. The approach to use struggle histories as opposed to the liberation war as the investigative framework diverges from preceding works on refugees that avoided debates on how social and political issues shaped refugee histories before the military confrontations started doing so. When such literature used the military phase of the conflict to define refugees, what emerged was a narrowing of the meanings and histories of a category that has broader meanings and diverse histories.

Broadly, the chapter argues that contrary to assertions that portrayed the refugee problem as having been an event defined by patriotic influences and by the need to participate in the liberation of the country, refugees were, instead, a result of choices arising from multiple

[1] For more discussions on the commemoration of 28 April as "Chimurenga Day" see Paul Moorcraft and Peter McLaughlin, *The Rhodesia War: Fifty Years On,* 2015 edition (Pen and Sword Military: South Yorkshire, 2015) p 29

reasons. These were delineated by individual interpretations and perceptions of situations around them. This chapter demonstrates that liberation consciousness or one's need to participate in the struggle as an agent of political change was not a precondition for becoming a refugee. Instead, each refugee circumstance constituted a discursive, diverse and unique historical case of its own. Despite the need to participate in the struggle being one of the issues that later emerged along the continuum of multiple dimensions, the genesis of refugees as a historical category was contextualised by Rhodesian political and social struggles. A greater proportion of the refugee cases of the late 1960s to early 1970s had to do with individual quests to transcend issues of social justice discontentment rather than becoming active struggle participants. Political disturbances accounted for a small proportion of those refugee cases. Instead, what we see in those early years were attempts by political players to rope in refugees into the struggle narrative, thereby creating a situation where refugees were shaping the history of the struggle. As for war in its sense as physical engagement, it was only in the later phases that we begin to see it dictating refugee histories. When this happened, it was rather fear of war as opposed to alleged patriotic consciousness by African Rhodesians that caused the production of refugees. As the later part of this chapter will show, most African Rhodesians in the rural areas were not even aware of the existence of political parties and political debates taking place in Rhodesia by that time. They were only forced to flee from the war and thereby created other histories necessary for understanding the diverse nature of what was entailed by a refugee during the struggles for Rhodesia.

The central idea is that instead of thinking about how liberation or patriotic consciousness made refugees, attention must be on how refuge and refugees shaped the war's histories. I construct the base of my argument on the diversity of Zimbabwe's refugee histories from a content analysis of historical debates that took place in the 1960s. The oral history narratives used in the later parts of the chapter further give meaning to the variations and evolutions that transpired along the journey of the refugees' experiences. For purposes of history's significance in recording past events, this chapter follows the official terminologies of Rhodesia and Rhodesians to define the country and the people as used before 1980.

4.1 RHODESIAN REFUGEES AND THE STRUGGLE IN THE 1960S

Most historical literature on the struggle for Rhodesia agree that the first battle to mark the outbreak of war or the second *Chimurenga* as the event is popularly known in nationalist

historiographies, took place on the 28th of April 1966.[2] ZANLA and the British South African Police were the protagonist forces involved in that battle. Two more battles subsequently followed this in 1967 and 1968. Unlike the initial battle whereby ZANLA took part, the latter two involved ZIPRA operating in collaboration with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) of South Africa against the Rhodesian Light Infantry Battalion. Despite the remarkability of these battles, they were not the main influencers of the movement of Rhodesians across borders as refugees during that time. Similarly, as I will show later in this chapter, it is highly debatable that the above battles constituted events warranting consideration as war situations in practical terms. Many Rhodesians were by that time living outside the country as refugees, [3] and war was not given as a reason why they had fled. Instead, many of these early refugees were mainly students and victims of Rhodesia's social segregationist policies.

4.1.1 Students and the question of Rhodesians as refugees

In seminar papers presented separately in 1967 and 1970 respectively, Jacqz[4] and Baron[5] were probably the first authors to engage in discourses on debates concerning refugees from Rhodesia as part of southern Africa. In so doing, their respective works serve as evidence that refugees have had a much older history in Rhodesia's anti-colonial struggle history than initially perceived. More so, their works also showed that these refugees were a subject of academic debate as early as the 1960s due to the involvement of the university in the discussions.

Although both Jacqz and Baron's viewpoint was the broader white ruled Southern Africa, Rhodesia was one of the countries mentioned as generating the refugees causing problems that required attention. Therefore, a dissection of their respective works is an important starting point for an understanding of where refugees originated from in the history of anti-

[2] P Moorcroft and P McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War: Fifty Years On*,

[3]For instance, in 1967, there were 207 Rhodesians were registered as refugees living in Botswana. See for example, Richard Dale, *Botswana's search for Autonomy in Southern Africa* (Greenwood Press: Westport, CT, London, 1995) p 40

[4] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa: A report of a Workshop on the Training and Utilisation of Refugee Students from Southern Africa sponsored by the African American Institute and Syracuse University at Lubin House, New York City, April 18-19, 1967,' African American Institute, 866, UN Plaza, New York (NY) 10017

[5] Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs,' Unpublished Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Africa n Studies Association, Boston, October 21-24, 1970

Rhodesia struggles. Such understandings will also shed light on how refugees became the single largest voice and terminology from which the history of the struggle began to take shape. Jacqz's paper reported on "differing views" that "were expressed regarding reasons why Southern Africans leave home." For the seminar, this question was "related to" that of "what constituted a refugee."[6] As attempts were made to grapple with these questions, the gathering eventually came up with suggestions of what "constituted refugees from Southern Africa." Whilst this thesis maintains that refugees were distinct from liberation fighters, for the purposes of the key suggestion that views the latter as a transition from the former, it is necessary to give an outline of what the Syracuse seminarians thought of what constituted refugees from Southern Africa. As the outline of the categories demonstrates, the notion of refugee was the overall encompassing word for anyone outside the borders of Southern African countries then involved in the struggles for majority rule. As the seminarians categorically stated, refugees from Southern African countries such as Rhodesia comprised:

1) Freedom fighters – active members of a liberation movement who may have left home on instructions from their movement and who are committed to struggle for establishment of a representative government in their home country.
2) Other "political" refugees, that is persons who have fled from political oppression and who cannot return, for political reasons, without fear of reprisal; these refugees may never have been affiliated with a particular liberation movement or they may have left or been expelled from a liberation movement.
3) Persons who have left their home country seeking a better life-freedom from racial restrictions and an opportunity for better living conditions, employment and or/education or training than is available at home. [7]

Baron augmented the position maintained by Jacqz on the existence of refugee students from Rhodesia in the 1960s by conducting a study in which 310 students under the Southern African Student Program for Southern African Refugee Students (SASP) participated in 1967 and 1968.[8] Apart from revealing the existence of refugees in the early 1960s, a broader examination of both Jacqz and Baron's seminar papers also reveals the critical position that the person of the refugee occupied in Rhodesian and global politics during that time.

[6] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[7] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[8] Baron presented the results of the study at a seminar convened by the African Studies Association (ASA) in Boston, from the 21st to the 24th of October 1970. See, Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs'

Importantly, as will be demonstrated in the succeeding sections, the studies also did a lot to outline attempts made to mobilise refugee students to participate in the struggles of their countries during that time.

4.1.2 The refugee in Rhodesian and global politics in the 1960s and the question of a "true" refugee

As noted in the refugee categories postulated at the Syracuse seminar reported by Jacqz above, the refugee discussed implied anyone outside the borders of a white ruled Southern African country. However, as the seminar papers also showed, the Rhodesian refugee and his/her counterparts from white ruled Southern Africa were a subject of both local and international politics. In this regard, both liberation movements and global bodies were involved in fashioning the person of the refugee. On their part, the refugees responded by both contesting and accepting ascribed definitions. However, before delving into the details of these acceptances and contestations, there is need to illustrate first, the players that were at the centre of early interactions between refugees from Rhodesia and members of the international community.

As we have seen from the works of Jacqz and Baron, the refugee from Rhodesia was part of the working vocabulary of many countries on a global as well as the regional and national scales since the early 1960s. In Southern Africa, Botswana, Zambia and Tanganyika were amongst countries that accepted their peers from white ruled Rhodesia as refugees in addition to those from South Africa, Mozambique and South West Africa. In most of these cases, the Bechuanaland Protectorate as Botswana was known in the early 1960s, acted as "the first country of asylum," with Francistown and Kazungula being the reception centres.[9] When they were in Botswana, provision of humanitarian assistance came through the efforts of organisations such as the Botswana Council of Churches (BCC). These refugees later found their way to second countries of asylum, courtesy of the work of the Refugee Council of Zambia (IRCOZ). IRCOZ began its work in April of 1964 and was responsible to the "Ministry of Home Affairs of the government of Zambia" before terminating services in 1967.[10]

[9] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[10] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

As far as regional bodies were concerned, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) through its "Bureau for Refugees" then located in its Secretariat, was also heavily involved in refugee affairs. On the global view, countries in the communist dominated Eastern Europe as well as western ones such as the United States, Sweden and the United Kingdom awarded scholarships to Rhodesian refugee students. In the United States, the granting of such scholarships was made possible by organisations such as the African American Institute (AAI), SASP and the World University Services (WUS). Of these organisations, although upon its establishment in 1964, WUS' focus was "South African students," by 1966 it had "expanded its terms of reference to include Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique."[11]

Whereas the Syracuse seminar hinted that Southern African refugees constituted three broad categories, it was, nevertheless, the desire of most Southern African refugee host countries and the OAU to have all people fleeing from white ruled countries conscripted as participants in the broader anti-colonial struggles of that period. Firstly, as the proceedings of the Syracuse gathering reveal, "Southern African refugees" were "regarded primarily as agents in the struggle for liberation of their countries" by the OAU. Secondly, in Southern Africa itself, as Baron observed, despite Tanzania being "one of the countries hospitable to refugees," it was nevertheless primarily interested in freedom fighters."[12] As he further observed, "if a refugee was not a freedom fighter or ceased to be one by resignation or expulsion from a recognised party, he was liable to be declared a Prohibited Immigrant (P.I) and deported." According to Baron, "by agreement among countries concerned, a person declared a P.I in Kenya, Uganda, Tanzania, or Zambia was considered a P.I by all."[13]

The standpoint of independent African countries and the OAU to have every refugee become an active participant in the anti-colonial struggle movements was further emphasised in the sentiments of three of the Syracuse gathering delegates namely Ambassador Achkar, the OAU Deputy Secretary General, Sahnonn and Ambassador Mwamba from Zambia. As Ambassador Achkar emphasised, "the whole point of training refugees" was "to enable them to take part in their liberation movements." Achkar's sentiment found support in the contributions of Sahnonn who pointed out that "refugee students should, first of all,

[11] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[12] Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs'

[13] Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs,'

participate in the struggle for freedom."[14] On his part, Ambassador Mwamba ably supported his two colleagues by reflecting more on expectations from a Southern African refugee as well as engaging in discussions on the "true" and "other" refugee debate that characterised the Syracuse seminar. As he said, "if a Southern African refugee is a true refugee-sponsored by his political party-then his liberation movement must have prior claim on his services" and was free to apply for a job as a "civil servant or in another capacity" if he/she was a "free individual, independent of" a "liberation movement."[15]

While African governments and organisations were busy thinking about making the refugee a political activist of a kind, the broader international community also had their own ideas on what they expected from refugees. Such a situation saw refugees being roped in the West versus East Cold War contests that defined global geopolitics of the 1960s to the early 1990s. Revelation for these were sentiments expressed in American quarters, which showed a concern about growing Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) influence in Southern Africa through its policies of awarding scholarships to refugees. In his submissions to "a senate subcommittee hearing on African Refugee problems" held in January 1965, the Assistant Secretary for African Affairs, G Mennen Williams "noted that more than 700 (Southern African) refugees had gone to communist countries for study and training."[16] For America, these figures presented a rather unhealthy situation warranting a reversal. However, as Williams continued with his report, he was pleased to report that the West had lessened the gap through the creation of SASP. According to him, after the "creation of SASP, for every three refugees that go to the communist block one" was going "to the West," a figure that indicated "a sharp rise from the ratio of one to six that prevailed a year" previously. Like its counterparts in the refugee interaction business SASP envisaged a refugee who was a freedom cadre and expressed this impetus in its key objective, which stated that its first priority was to "train students in the struggle for freedom, primarily as an administrative cadre[s]."[17]

However, when organisations, countries and governments were seized with the idea of a Southern African refugee *quasi* liberation cadre as specified above, it seems such ideologies were not wholly embraced by the refugees, especially the Rhodesians. Not all these refugees

[14] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[15] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[16] Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs'

[17] Baron Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs'

were fascinated with this idea of liberation cadres and neither were they all interested in returning to their country upon completion of their study and training programs. This position by some Rhodesian refugee students prompted Mr Kotsho Dube, a representative of ZAPU in the United States to "argue strongly" at the Syracuse gathering that "all Rhodesian students at US institutions can go home." Dube appealed to "program sponsors and university officials not to consider," Rhodesian students "as refugees." According to him, "if they were treated as refugees, this would create a problem."[18] However, as Mr Seales and a university spokesperson [who were also present at the Syracuse gathering] confirmed, Dube's fears on Rhodesian refugees were not entirely out of context. As the two observed, there were "a few Rhodesians" who "were unwilling to go home" and should be persuaded to do so. However, unlike Dube, the two did not advocate for the withdrawal of the refugee status on the Rhodesians as they felt" that "they could not force them" to return, "if they were genuinely fearful of the consequences."[19]

As a representative of a political organisation engaged with the Rhodesian anti-colonial struggles, Dube's perceptions about refugees and the application of the term is not surprising. In this case, there was a history on the plight of political parties in the struggle for Rhodesia to create relationships with refugees. The relationship envisaged by political parties reflects the longer history of their quest to use and control refugees. For Rhodesia, such control motives started when political organisations fighting for majority rule in Rhodesia made a decision to shift their struggle approaches from negotiations to the armed struggle. However, they faced challenges of recruits and turned to refugees especially those who had congregated in Zambia for their early recruits.[20] What this implied was that the people whom they enticed to join their organisation were mainly those who had initially left Rhodesia to pursue their own businesses other than war. As such, Dube's call for all Rhodesians to return or for the non-application of the refuge terminology on them might have been motivated by political parties' desire to control that source which was more likely to provide the much needed manpower, the refugees.

[18] Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[19] Although Mr Seales and the University spokesperson did not reveal the nature of consequences the students in question were afraid of, their revelation is ample evidence that the students who did not want to return had mentioned certain consequences. See, Jane W Jacqz, 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa'

[20] Edgar Tekere and Ibbo Mandaza, *Edgar "2 Boy" Zivanai Tekere: A Lifetime of a Struggle*, (Sapes Books: Harare, 2007)

However, in cases where political organisations managed to recruit refugees, there was both an involuntary and voluntary aspect to such practices. Firstly, of the refugees who swelled the revolutionary parties' military ranks, there was an element of those press-ganged into recruitment.[21] In Zambia where most of the press-ganging incidences took place, local Zambian nationals were affected to the extent that their government was forced to intervene.[22] On the other hand, political organisations did not need to use coercive means at all. The refugee requirements of regional host countries already discussed in this section as well as benefits derived from association with political parties were the driving forces behind refugee voluntary recruitment. As Baron observed:

> In the young refugees' quest for security and/or higher education, the nationalist parties do play an important role. When a South African, a South West African, and or a Rhodesian Refugee reached Francistown in Botswana for example, he had either to give detailed information about himself to IRCOZ, sometimes with significant risks for relatives and friends at home, or be sponsored by a political party. Thus, a refugee who may have had no political affiliation before leaving home might join a party as the safer alternative presented to him by the Botswana authorities. Moreover, once he was sponsored by a party, he would be given travel documents by the Zambian government and could move to Zambia or Tanzania--Only those persons who were recognised and sponsored by a party were considered "true refugees" eligible for residence permits in these two countries."[23]

While refugees joined political organisations voluntarily and involuntarily, it seems likely that there were underlying reasons why they considered going through such hassles. As the discussion below demonstrates, the deterioration of the social and political situation in Rhodesia in the late 1960s alarmed sections of its African populations such that they envisaged a breakthrough in fleeing Rhodesia as refugees.

[21]Although Dumiso Dabengwa was silent in his paper about ZIPRA's early recruitment methods, Josiah Tungamirai was more explicit in his explanations pertaining to ZANLA's early recruitment methods. See, Dumiso Dabengwa, 'ZIPRA in the Zimbabwe War of National Liberation', in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger (eds) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (James Currey: London, Heinemann: Portsmouth, University of Zimbabwe Publications: Harare, 1995), pp. 24-35 and Josiah Tungamirai, 'Recruitment to ZANLA: Building a War Machine', in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger (eds) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (James Currey: London, 1995), pp36-47

[22] Josiah Tungamirai, 'Recruitment to ZANLA: Building a War Machine'

[23] Barnett F Baron, 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs'

4.1.3 Why people became refugees in the 1960s

Although Mr Seales and the University spokesperson referred to in Jacqz's work, mentioned that there were unnamed consequences Rhodesian refugees might have been afraid of, the refugees implied in those discussions were those already outside Rhodesia. Discussions on this issue did not mention the background to the choices subsequently made by the refugees whilst they were still inside Rhodesia. We nevertheless find these in the testimonies of two individuals who skipped the border in 1967, Joshua Mpofu[24] and Chen Chimutengwende. As we will see, the testimonies of these two refugees show that although there were contrasting reasons why people contemplated becoming refugees, there were also diverging expectations in being a refugee.

Of the two cases, Mpofu's case represents a political security concern more than a social one, while Chimutengwende represented both a politically aware refugee whose reasons were more inclined on social aspects. Mpofu was a political activist before fleeing Rhodesia. In his description of events that led to his refugee situation, Mpofu stated that he only contemplated doing so after the Rhodesian Security establishment had identified him as a threat to the peace and security of the nation. As a result, his first action was to go into hiding. It was only after the security branch had intensified their search for him that he then made a decision to skip the border "through Plumtree." His first port of call was his relatives who resided in "Moroka Village," situated just near the Rhodesian border in Botswana. When Rhodesian helicopters started conducting reconnaissance patrols in Botswana territory around Moroka Village, he decided to register officially as a refugee in Francistown. From there, he was later sent to Lusaka by ZAPU, an anti-Rhodesia political organisation based there.[25]

By contrast, although Chimutengwende expressed an awareness of both political and social consciousness, he described his case as that of a refugee who went to Botswana looking for work in 1967. Contrary to the arguments of people like Kotsho Dube who did not want Rhodesians to be referred to as refugees, Chimutengwende was aware of his case as both a refugee as well as the consequences of staying in racialized Rhodesia. As he made it clear in framing the definition of what constituted a refugee in an article that he wrote, Chimutengwende affirmed:

[24] Joshua M Mpofu, *My Life in the Struggle for the Liberation of Zimbabwe*, (Authorhouse: United States, 2014), pp147-149

[25] Joshua Mpofu, *My Life in the Struggle for the Liberation of Zimbabwe*

> Almost every African from southern Africa who [was] abroad [was] a refugee, depending on whether he left his country legally or not, whether or not while abroad he participated in radical politics or attended political meetings or wrote political articles…… Anybody who has any political fear or reason which makes him feel he shouldn't go back home is a refugee.[26]

In addition, Chimutengwende had something for organisations like the OAU and other countries or persons obsessed with the idea of a refugee as a liberation activist. The fifth of his nine-point list of "some of the problems" which he thought affected "refugees" was more precise on his position about the pertinent issue of refugees' social lives in the era of liberation. As he complained against the perceptions of his fellow Africans on Rhodesian refugees like him, Chimutengwende pointed out:

> If I try to discuss matters with my fellow African Nigerians, Kenyans, Zambians, etc, generally they look on me as an inferior. They ask: "Why do you complain so much? You have not freed your country, but you want to tell us how we should rule ourselves? Why don't you go and fight for your country? Why is it that so many blacks can be ruled by such a few foreigners for such a long time? They do not understand why I should go to a nightclub or have a beautiful local girl friend or be normal when my country is not yet free. They think we must be stupid. Why don't we plan one week to fight and overthrow the racist governments at a stroke and be free, as if it's that easy.

Indeed, this story by Chimutengwende on his position reveals the inner feelings of how individuals perceived liberation. Although he was a native of Rhodesia, a country embroiled in anti-colonial struggles, for him that was not the issue at hand. Social aspects were also an important necessity.

As we have seen in the previous section, although Rhodesian refugees featured in debates about the problem at various global forums in the 1960s, there was no mention of armed war as a causative agent of their plight. However, such a happening as far as anti-Rhodesia struggle histories are concerned is not surprising. Despite defining discussions on the liberation of Rhodesia from colonial rule, none of the refugees who featured in those debates had been victims of armed war displacement. Indeed, it is important to note that even by 1972 armed war was still to play a significant role in Rhodesian refugee issues.[27] This turns us back to my early assertion why it is important when discussing refugees, to focus on the

[26] Chen Chimutengwende, 'Problems of Southern African Refugees', Unpublished paper, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records (NAZ), File Number MS 589/18

[27] Tor Sellström, *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa* Vol.II: *Solidarity and Assistance 1970 - 1994*, (Nordiska Afrikaistitutet: Uppsala, 2002) pp. 167-168

broader social and political context instead of the period when antagonistic forces began to engage physically.

Indeed, it seems that despite tilting towards armed war, the issue of refugee students still continued to dominate discussions as late as 1974. Revelation for this was a meeting that took place at the Foreign and Commonwealth offices between the Reverend Canaan Banana and Mr R Byatt on the 25th of June 1974.[28] A central theme of that meeting was the growing number of Rhodesian refugee students who appeared to have been presenting a crisis to the British authorities. According to Byatt's presentation, the numbers of Rhodesian student refugees "had grown so much that money available could not meet demands".[29] As such, Byatt wanted to know, presumably from Banana, whether arranging for the refugees "education in Africa" was going to be something "acceptable to them."[30]

4.2 WAR IN RHODESIA, 1975 TO 1980: SHIFTS IN THE RHODESIAN REFUGEE DYNAMICS

Prior to 1975, the general known trend of movements by African Rhodesians residing in the Tribal Trust Lands (TTL) was that of a rural to urban nature.[31] In most of the cases, there was also a gender dimension to human movements as the urban space was considered to be a domain for the male.[32] However, as this section will show, these trends suddenly changed upon the intensification of the armed conflict in Rhodesia. Perhaps to understand how these changes contributed to a shift in the Rhodesian refugee dimensions, it is necessary, to provide a background on the history of rural Rhodesians' understandings of Rhodesia's political environment after 1966, the year the military phase of the struggle is claimed to have started. This background is important in providing a picture of how armed war as a liberating idea

[28] Minutes of a Meeting between the Rev. Canaan Banana and Mr R Byatt at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, June 25 1974, NAZ Records, File Number MS 1082/5/11 (Judith Todd Papers- 1970 September 23-1974 June 25)

[29] Ibid

[30] Ibid

[31] In his study of Makoni District, Terrence Ranger noted that most migrants from the district to urban areas were predominantly male. See, Terrence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study* (London: James Currey, 1985)

[32] On the development of colonial era segregated migration trends see, Teresa A. Barnes, 'The Fight for Control of African Women's Mobility in Colonial Zimbabwe, 1900-1939', *Signs*, Vol. 17, No. 3 (Spring, 1992), pp. 586-608

was infused into rural Rhodesians, the circumstances under which that happened and how the rural people reacted.

4.2.1 Reflections on rural African Rhodesians' consciousness of Rhodesian political affairs

In their respective works on rural African Rhodesians and war, Tichaona Jokonya[33] and Kennedy Manungo[34] demonstrated an analytical similarity on perceived African consciousness about the political developments prevailing in early to mid-1970s Rhodesia. Such a similarity is evident in the opening remarks of their respective works where they posited suggestions that when freedom fighters first made an appearance in rural Rhodesia, they found a receptive "peasantry ready and willing to support them fully in the liberation struggle." Also similar in analysis to the works of Jokonya and Manungo on rural Rhodesia political and war consciousness, are the respective works of David Lan[35] and Terrence Ranger.[36] However, notwithstanding the contribution of these studies to consciousness as a subject matter, this section follows Norma Kriger's review work on Ranger and Lan's studies in contesting the assumptions postulated therein.[37] In critiquing Ranger, Kriger had observed that he had presented "no data to indicate the peasant radicalism was ever expressed in membership in the nationalist movement."[38] On Lan, she also noted that the "increases in witch-hunting and guerrilla violence" that characterised guerrilla incursions underscored "the lack of unity within rural population and tension between it and the guerrillas."[39] Kriger's observations were also the same as those of Pringle who noted that when the guerrillas started to make incursions in the Zambezi valley, they did not find such levels of consciousness as implied in both Ranger and Lan's respective works. What they found was a local rural community that had responded by reporting their presence and activities to the Rhodesian

[33] Tichaona J B Jokonya, 'The Effects of War on the Rural Population of Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Affairs*, Vol. 2 (1980), pp137-47

[34] Kennedy D Manungo, 'The Role Peasants played in the Zimbabwe War of Liberation (With special emphasis on Chiweshe District)', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ohio University, 1991

[35] David Lan, *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe's Liberation* War (James Currey: London, 1985)

[36] Terrence Ranger, *Peasant Consciousness*

[37] Norma Kriger, Mobilising for Unity: The Zimbabwe War, Unpublished paper, John Hopkins University

[38] Norma Kriger, 'Mobilising for Unity'

[39] Norma Kriger, Mobilising for Unity'

authorities.[40] Moorcraft and McLaughlin also reported similar behavioural trends by the rural inhabitants of the Tjolotjo area when ZAPU made initial incursions there.[41] However, whilst not downplaying the role played by guerrilla adaptation of tactics used by Mao Tse Tung in the Chinese 1949 revolution to improve their acceptance by rural African Rhodesians, the use of such tactics represents rather, a process of mobilisation as opposed to abrupt acceptances. Most rural Rhodesians were not even aware of Rhodesia's political developments of that period and neither were they aware of the political organisations routing for majority rule in Rhodesia. In any case, during that time, political consciousness by most rural Rhodesians rarely went beyond the boundaries of local government and that is the chiefdoms or districts. It can be assumed that the guerrillas noticed this behaviour by rural inhabitants and started employing the Mao Tse Tung mobilisation tactics to infuse liberation meanings into the rural inhabitants. This infusion of liberation ideas follows the trends of assertions made in peasant revolution scholarship especially the work of Joel Migdal. According to Migdal, "peasant revolutions are created by external revolutionary organisations that mobilise peasant support."[42] As we shall see later in the war, communication tools such as radio broadcasts aided guerrilla liberation ideals and conscientization efforts.

However, despite the early collusion between the Rhodesian authorities and the rural inhabitants against guerrilla incursions, it was nevertheless, the Rhodesians themselves who played a role in disrupting such a relationship through deployments of their own undesirable counter mobilisation strategies. Of these, perhaps the single most important activity that made rural Rhodesians in Mutasa District for instance, to panic and become aware of the armed war circumstances around them was the plan by Rhodesian authorities to establish protected village (PVs) or Keeps, as they were popularly known. As I will show below, it was upon the appearance of the PV on Rhodesia's political landscape that triggered rural Rhodesians of districts such as Mutasa's consciousness about the war and political developments before changing human movement trends discussed previously.

[40] Ian Pingle, *Dingo Firestorm: The Greatest Battle of the Rhodesian Bush War* (Zebra Press: Cape Town, 2012), p 32

[41] Moorcraft and McLaughlin, *The Rhodesian War,* p 39

[42] Joel Migdal cited in Raj Desai and Harry Eckstein, 'The Transformation of Peasant Rebellion', *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (July 1990), pp. 441-465. See also Joel Migdal quoted in Theda Skocpol, 'Review Article: What Makes Peasants Revolutionary?' *Comparative Politics,* Vol. 14, Number 3. (April 1982), pp. 351-375

4.2.2 The role of war mobilisation and counter mobilisation strategies in creating 1975 refugees: War in Mutasa District

Despite attracting a significant amount of historical attention, one particular issue about historical knowledge on PVs as one of the most controversial features of the armed war in Rhodesia has been the one-sided representations about them. PVs first appeared on the Rhodesian political landscape around 1973. The first of these were established in the north-eastern parts of the country where the guerrillas first made their 1972 and post-1972 incursions. According to the available body of historical literature, their creation was a result of a Rhodesian plan to manage its rural based African population amidst guerrilla incursions.[43]At best, in war terminologies, the Protected Village was a counter mobilisation strategy. By 1977, the idea of the PV had spread to cover most of the districts located in the eastern half of Rhodesia.

Whereas the role of PVs as spaces of wartime confinement is known, their role in producing refugees has rarely been mentioned. Unlike in the north eastern parts of the country where people's reactions to their establishment largely remained within the confines of silent protests, in Mutasa District, news about the impending creation of PVs triggered the first waves of refugees from the district. In Headman Mandeya's area which shares a border with Mozambique, word about the impending establishment of PVs in 1975 represented the reality of war. For many families in Mutasa District who, by 1975, had not witnessed any war, had no knowledge of political organisations of that time, and had not participated in the activities of those political organisations, threats about confinement in PVs was a danger to be averted. Tendai Jimu confided during our oral history interview that, although the PV had existed only in plans before he fled the country, they were a sign of the inevitability of war and impending danger. The engagement proceeded as follows:

> *You confided with me when we initially started this interview that there was a time when you had to leave school and go to Mozambique. What year was it when you left?*
> 70 eeeeh 75 exactly.
> *75?*
> It was 75, towards December, December that is when we fled.
> *What was it that forced you to flee?*
> What happened was that..That led us to flee from here? There was word that people were supposed to go to Keeps.

[43] Henrik Ellert, *The Rhodesian Front War: Counter Insurgency and Guerrilla Warfare in Rhodesia, 1962-1980* (Mambo Press: Gweru, 1993), p49., Paul Moorcraft and Peter McLaughlin, *The Rhodesia War: 50 Years On*., Ishmael Mazambani, 'Did Children Matter?: Unprotected Children in "Protected Villages" Created by the Rhodesian Regime During the Liberation Struggle for Zimbabwe', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Midlands State University, 2016

75, was it the year that the Keeps started?
75 was when they started
All right! Okay, and…
Therefore, when we did that..that is when we fled. Grandfather said let us leave this place and go to Mozambique. That is when we fled and went to Mozambique but my father did not go. He refused to go.
He refused to obey your grandfather's orders?
Yes, he refused to follow grandfather's orders. He remained here. He remained there at his workplace in Mutare. Then we left together with grandfather and mother. His young brothers also went with us.[44]

However, despite Jimu's family having migrated without witnessing the armed war, his case nevertheless, represented a shift from the 1960s movements discussed previously. In contrast to the 1960s fleeing, Jimu's case entailed a whole family movement. Mozambique represented another shift to countries that had provided refuge to Rhodesians since the emergence of the struggle for majority rule in Rhodesia. Whereas Botswana, Zambia and Tanganyika were the immediately available spaces of refuge in Southern Africa, Mozambique's independence in June of 1975 brought in a new space for post 1972 Rhodesian African refugees. Furthermore, the invocation of the Keep as a site around which community mobilisation for fleeing took place also entailed an entirely new dimension to causes of Rhodesian refugee cases.

Further to the above, one particular issue of how Jimu's family fled was pertaining to the number of people directly affected by the political situation. As we have seen in Mpofu's case, he was the only direct target of the danger posed by his participation in political activities. For Jimu, all this changed as confinement in PVs provided a sense of perceived insecurity for the whole family. The only exception was his father, whose refusal to leave an urban space confirms the status of urban spaces as security enclaves during the Rhodesian war. Moreover, the presence of the father as a male in an urban space also reifies the argument on gendered migratory dimensions rural Rhodesians engaged in prior to the outbreak of the armed war.

However, as the political situation continued to deteriorate in Rhodesia, the PV also shaped the discourse around the production of refugees from Mutasa District in different ways. Whereas Jimu's case represents those that fled out of fear for PV confinement, other families fled without having encountered physical danger but merely responded to the threat of war.

[44] Tendai Jimu, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya Area, September 2017

Veronica and Junior Maboni[45] were amongst the first people to flee from Sub Chief Mandeya's area responding to threats of war. However, despite slight differences in her narration of events to that of Junior, Veronica stated:

> We heard that war will soon be entering here and therefore we left this place and settled there (pointing) at the mouth of Zaramira (Mt)[46]

On her part, when sharing on why they had fled to Mozambique without the firing of any guns, Junior did not only concur with Veronica's assertion of a flight triggered by mere circulation of words about armed war. Instead, she also added that apart from circulation of word, "they had also seen lorries (military trucks) moving around" and as such, they "just fled."[47]

Although it seems as if most 1975 refugees had not witnessed the war's violence before fleeing, the situation was different for Marita Rimao and her family. Unlike most of her fellow narrators, Marita was a daughter of a village head, *Sabhuku*, and "her family was the most targeted" by both the guerrillas[48] and the RSF. According to Marita, when each set of military force visited their homestead, such a visit usually ended with beatings and harassment of male members of her family. Both the Rhodesians and the guerrillas accused them of "entertaining the other force". For Marita, the situation deteriorated further when the Rhodesian authorities started "ferrying people to the keeps." At that same time, the guerrillas were also warning the same "people not to go to the keeps as they were going to attack those keeps." Thus, for Marita and her family, the situation was no longer tenable. As a result, she and her family found themselves amongst the first families to flee to Mozambique in 1975 through the "*Dombomunyarabvu* corridor."[49] Katoya Makwara, another individual who fled to Mozambique to escape the threat of the Keeps, complemented Marita's story of threats by the RSF side of the military forces operating in the Honde Valley area. Despite not

[45] Although Veronica Maboni and Junior Maboni lived in different homesteads where the respective interviews with them were conducted, I later learnt from Junior Maboni that the two were part of a polygamous family. Veronica Maboni who was interviewed first did not mention anything about the polygamous family relationship.

[46] Veronica Maboni, Interview with Blessed Magadzike Sub Chief Mandeya's area, September 2017

[47] Junior Maboni, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, September 2017

[48] My detestation to refer guerrillas then operating in Mutasa District at this point as ZANLA is purely a historical argument. In 1975, the military forces of both ZANLA and ZIPRA had coalesced into Zimbabwe People's Army (ZIPA). So, practically at that point in time there was no ZANLA or ZIPRA. ZIPA was only disbanded in 1977.

[49] Marita Rimao, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, September 2017

witnessing military combat, Katoya claimed that she fled to Mozambique after she heard the soldiers saying, "If we find you still living in your compounds, we are going to kill you."

The involvement of traditional leadership during the early years when war reached the eastern districts of Rhodesia as depicted in Marita's story, seems to have been something unavoidable. Traditional leaders such as village heads were the first port of call for the guerrillas when they entered Mandeya's area. Contrary to perceptions of an already conscious rural community, political indoctrination of liberation ideologies started with these leadership structures. Marian Tsoro, from village head Jonasi's area, Sub Chief Mandeya's territory, is one such narrator whose refugee journey and political awareness traces its origins to the institution of the village head. According to Marian, one day in 1975, they were summoned to their village head's homestead "who had sent word to them saying, the brothers (*vana mukoma*) have come" and they wanted to meet them. She complied and went to the village head's homestead where the said *vana mukoma* started indoctrinating them in political affairs. As Marian narrated, *vana mukoma* told them that:

> The reason we are here is that we want to remove the Boers (*mabhunu*) from here. We want this country to be ruled by a black person. We have our ancestors such as Kaguvi, Cde Chitepo and many others who they talked about. We want the white man to leave this place.[50]

After indoctrinating the community, the guerrillas proceeded to ask the community to assist them to realise their liberation dream. They enlisted Marian and other young men and women from the community as their aides. According to Marian, they did menial jobs such as "cooking for the guerrillas and fetching firewood."

However, one day when Marian was doing her duty for the guerrillas, the RSF attacked part of headman Mandeya's area. They burnt houses and took people including her parents to the Keeps. When Marian and other young men and women accompanying the guerrillas wanted to go back and join their families, the guerrillas forbade them from doing so. According to Marian, they were afraid that since the young villagers "now knew a lot about their operations and movements, they were going to sell them out to the white man." As a result, the guerrillas said they were going to take them to Mozambique. However, after staying with the guerrillas for about three months, they were attacked again by the RSF. During that attack, Marian and three other girls were separated from the guerrillas. It was upon the separation, that Marian and her colleagues remembered that during their three months'

[50] Marian Tsoro, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, September 2017

interaction with guerrillas, they were always told to "remember the direction of Mozambique and go there in case of any mishap." As such, Marian and her colleagues did as advised and journeyed to Mozambique where they reunited with the guerrillas in Chief Nyandiro's area.

Just after their reunification, Marian and her colleagues were taking a bath in the river when *camaradas*[51] patrolling the border area approached them. The *camaradas* wanted to know what the girls were up to since they had heard a lot of gunfire in the border area. In response, Marian and her colleagues told the *camaradas* that they were with the comrades. According to Marian, the *camaradas* were so angry that they asked the comrades if "this was their type of war of using young children."[52] The guerrillas denied using children for fighting purposes arguing that they were only their aides. The *camaradas* then summoned the comrades to appear before them, together with the children, at their base at Mavhonde without fail or else they were going to face arrest. The comrades appeared before the *camaradas* on the said Tuesday and were ordered to surrender Marian and her colleagues to their custody. The *camaradas* then told Marian and her colleagues that they were going to take them to a refugee camp. After journeying to the Mozambican town of Manica on foot in the company of the *camaradas,* Marian and her colleagues were then ferried by a lorry to Doroi refugee camp and thereby revealing another dimension on FRELIMO involvement in shaping the refugee discourse.

4.2.3 From mobilisation and counter mobilisation strategies to war strategies

Whereas the refugee cases of the year 1975 period in Mutasa district were a result of the guerrillas and the RSF's mobilisation and counter mobilisation strategies, by 1976 they had mutated to war strategies. Such a change came as result of the fact that by 1976, Mutasa District, especially the border part of the Honde Valley area, was clearly a militarised space. Despite such a shift, one unique issue that continued to characterise both trends was that members of the rural communities continued to play their previous role as submissive victims of the prevailing political situation. In that continued sense of victimhood, seeking refuge ended up being the only viable solution to the undesirable keep (PV).

Like the 1975 trends, cases of unwilling victimhood as illustrated above manifested in the traditional leadership structures of the area. For instance, Monica Mudhibhisi was one such

[51] Portuguese for comrade

[52] Marian Tsoro, Interview

individual whose family became victims of the militarised conditions then sufficing in Mutasa District. Like, Martha Rimao before her in 1975, Monica was a daughter-in-law to Village Head Sipeya, a subordinate of Sub Chief Mandeya. In a long oral history interview, Monica related how the intermingling military strategies deployed by the two protagonist forces had left her family in a dilemma in which refuge was then envisaged as the ultimate solution. Although Monica's story did not only reveal how military strategies contributed to her predicament, it was a revelation of how disruptive the war was to cultural norms traditionally performed by communities, especially traditional leaders. The construction of our story started from the perspective of getting an understanding of the period Monica's family had left for Mozambique. The dialogue proceeded as follows:

> *I heard that you once stayed in Mozambique?*
> Yes
> *What year was that?*
> I went there in 76
> *What is it that caused you to go?*
> Iiii! We were being harassed by the Boers. We were being harassed because our home was that of the *sabhuku*.
> *Which sabhuku is this?*
> Sipeya. Those ones are our uncles (pointing at village head Sipeya).
> *Ok!*
> Yes.
> *Ok. Those ones are your uncles?*
> Yeah. In fact, what made us go to Mozambique was that there were people who passed through this area intending to go and join the war. They had come from... they had come from which part of the country? (self-question and a pose). They had come from Chipinge. So, they came across some Boers (RSF) when they were about to cross the Honde River. After they encountered the Boers like that, the Boers started firing at them and they all dispersed. There were about 40 of them. Therefore, we just saw one of them coming to our compound. Some people had just directed her to our compound saying "go to the *Sabhuku*'s homestead." When the person came like that, she told us that they had been attacked by the Boers. As such, "others had died, others had run away and others had been captured and we were going to join the war." My father-in-law then said "we must lock her inside the house." We then stayed with the girl.
> *She was a girl?*
> She was a girl. Father-in-law said let's lock her inside the house. We then called other people. We asked ourselves, what are we supposed to do with this girl? We asked ourselves whether we were supposed to wake up at night and assist the girl to cross the Honde River so that she proceeds to Mozambique. Others said aaah! "If we assist her to cross the Honde, there are gossipers here. You see how she was directed here. They just told her to go to the *Sabhuku*'s homestead. So right now, they are saying there is a girl who has escaped from the gunfire whom we have directed to the

> *Sabhuku*'s house. So, eeh eeh! That is not possible. Let us take her to the chief." Therefore, they took the girl to the chief.[53]

Although Monica's story starts by revealing the harassment of traditional leaders as an RSF war strategy, it was also about the distinctions between those "who were going to join the war" and those who had to escape its effects. In the story, the dispersal of the 40 people intending to join the war entailed both the militarisation of the border space as well the control in which the RSF exerted over that space.

Nonetheless, one issue evident also in Monica's case was the role played by traditional leadership structures in giving refuge to stranded strangers. When the people of Sipeya village directed the girl escaping from the gunfire encounter with the RSF to the compound of the *Sabhuku,* it should be known that they were not engaging in a practice that was new. Instead, what they were doing was following the dictates of an age long cultural norm that African communities in Monica's part of the country had practiced for generations in relationship to stranger visitors."[54]

In Monica's case, the war had altered such an arrangement. In as much as people could direct strangers to a traditional leader's home, the influence of traditional leaders in the power network system of the Honde Valley area of Mutasa District had waned because of the war. Traditional leaders were under constant surveillance. Their activities were vulnerable to gossipers. Any refuge seeker was no longer just a refugee whom the chief can offer asylum without arousing the interests of the new superiors in the power network system, the Rhodesian authorities. Thus, as the continuation of the dialogue between Monica and myself demonstrates, the traditional leaders could do nothing much to protect vulnerable strangers. We proceeded as follows:

> *Alright!*
> Then we took her to the chief. The chief said, okay, I have heard what you are saying.
> *[interjection] Subchief Mandeya?*
> I have seen her, go back with her.
> *Going back with her where?*
> Taking her back home. Then we planned on what to do next with the girl. We were also thinking about assisting her to cross. However, when my father-in-law was still

[53] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, 11 September 2017

[54] In his thesis Clifford Mushishi observed that a Budya chief plays "a vital role" in providing "asylum to underprivileged members of the Budya community that feel naturally or spiritually threatened by forces beyond their own control. See, Clifford Mushishi, 'Apects of Budya Traditional Religion which promotes Human Rights', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2010

on his way back home with the girl, the Boers came to our homestead and found me and my husband at home alone. They had heard news that one of the girls they were looking for had escaped and she was at our homestead.
Okay those who were attacked there?
Yes, those who were shot at there. They found us alone, father-in-law had gone to the chief's homestead, and grandmother had gone to fetch firewood. They approached us and asked if we had not seen a terrorist that had escaped from them.
Mmmhm
We said we had not seen any terrorist and they said you are lying. They said there is a terrorist that escaped and came here. Then they started beating my husband.
Here?
At the house. He was beaten by those Boers.
Mmhm.
They repeatedly asked him to talk. He refused, but he was eventually beaten to submission and revealed that it was true that he had seen the girl in question. We could not say that she had gone to the chief because doing so means we would have sold out. At that time, we thought *Changamire* had taken over responsibility to assist her to cross. Moreover, we continued refusing to divulge more. The Boers said okay, if you don't want to reveal anything, get into these cars. We boarded the cars, my husband his own car, me in mine.
Different cars?
Yes, and all this was happening just two days after a bakery van had exploded. It had stepped over a landmine.
Where did it explode?
Just over there around the corner to Dumba. We boarded the cars, and we were just telling ourselves that death had finally approached us. Then we went to the chief, the chief did not refuse anything. He agreed that it was true that he had seen the girl in question but she had gone back with the *Sabhuku*. The Boers warned us that if they fail to locate that girl, we were going to be killed.
Were they referring to the Chief or you?
They were referring to us. Then we boarded the cars back home. At that moment, grandfather also arrived at home and was told that his children had been taken by the Boers. Therefore, when he heard the cars coming, he wasted no time in surrendering the girl. Then the girl was forced to board a car and we were still there and they said lets go.
Mhmmm
That's when I first realised that Boers could be thankful for sure clapping hands like bo bo bo bo (demonstrating the Boers clapping of hands) whilst thanking us.
For what?
Saying you have kept a terrorist for them and they then sat down. Then they asked grandfather. Grandfather started narrating what had happened. He said that he was keeping the girl and had reported her presence to the chief and was about to call the soldiers. The Boers then said you have done well. They said, very good! very good! Then they took the girl into the car.
Mmhmm
Yeah, then they told grandfather to tell his children to disembark from the car and we disembarked.[55]

[55] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview

Although Monica cited the above unfortunate incident of the girl who wanted to join the war as a contributory reason for fleeing, it was not the final reason that led to their departure. Instead, the family survived the ordeal and continued staying in the Honde Valley area until a time when guerrillas arrived on the scene with their own war strategy. In this case, the guerrillas had arrived on the scene with a war political economy strategy that depended heavily on the villagers. As Monica continued with her story from the perspective of my empathy constructed question on the unfortunate girl's possible predicament at the hands of the RSF, she outlined the guerrillas' war strategy as follows:

> *After disembarking from the cars, what happened to the girl?*
> She went away. She was taken by the Boers and went away with them in their car.
> *Where did they take her to? You never heard anything about where she went?*
> No. We never heard anything about what happened to her. Then there was another day when the guerrillas came to our area and addressed us saying, "our parents we are now here. If you see us here, you must cook *sadza* (thick porridge) for us. If we leave this place like now, you must sweep our footprints to avoid harassment by the Boers."[56]

Yet, despite Monica's family trying to follow the guerrillas' suggestions to avoid harassment, the militarised conditions of the Honde Valley area made that impossible and eventually, the family capitulated. As she continued:

> Then we said okay. Then, the following morning grandfather and others woke up early in the morning to sweep the guerrilla footprints. At that moment, the Boers arrived, and they asked them what was it that they were sweeping. At that moment, they had not even finished wiping all the footprints.
> *Eeh.*
> iiii! They were harassed.
> *How?*
> Beaten yes and then they were taken to Ruda and grandfather was locked up for some time. That time we were left alone here.
> *Where was grandfather taken to?*
> He had gone there. So, they will come and ask us "*inilo gandanga*... have you seen any terrorist here since this is the *Sabhuku*'s place?" Then we thought that we are going to die if we remain here. So, let us flee to Mozambique.
> *Were you married by that time?*
> Yeah. I was married that time. I was married in the *Sabhuku*'s family. Then we fled. At that time my own father had long fled to Mozambique. Then I also fled to Mozambique.
> *The father that sired you?*
> Yes, then I fled to Mozambique but my husband remained behind.
> *Mmmh*

[56] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview

> After some time, my husband then told himself that if he continues to remain behind, he was going to be continuously harassed since his father had already been arrested. Therefore, he then followed us...[57]

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the initial resistance by Monica's husband to flee to Mozambique did not represent an isolated behaviour by a male member of the Honde Valley area during the war. As we have seen with Tendai Jimu's father's case, refusal to capitulate was a behavioural practice of most males of Mutasa district. There were several reasons behind such behaviour. Firstly, most male members were resident in urban areas. In the history of the anti-Rhodesia struggles, all urban areas remained relatively safe until the conclusion of the war in 1980. Throughout the war, only a few isolated cases of attacks on urban spaces took place. In this case, individuals such as Peter Makureya and Simon Gutsaru, were among some of the male individuals who despite their families having relocated to Mozambique earlier had remained in their safer fiefdoms in the urban areas. In the case of Makureya, he only left his workplace to follow his family to Mozambique after he received news from his uncle that "please come without fail, your mother has been left alone here, everyone has gone to Mozambique."[58] It was also the same for Gutsaru who went to Mozambique after succumbing to family pressure "to join them there."[59]

The second reason that might have influenced the resistance by Honde Valley males could have been their positions of influence in their communities. Monica's husband as a son of an incumbent village head could have been motivated by such a position. Since his father had been incarcerated, it was possible that his behaviour was also influenced by the need to stand in for his father. The other reason was that he could not leave his father behind in a jail. Similarly, it can also be assumed that even Makureya's uncle who sent word to his nephew could have remained for the same power related reasons. In 1976, Makureya's uncle was the incumbent Village Head Makwara.[60]

However, not all males resident in the Honde Valley area resisted the urge to join the exodus of refuge seekers to Mozambique. According to Jane Mharapara, whose family could not withstand the sight of the militarised conditions of the Honde Valley area represented by the

[57] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview

[58] Peter Makureya, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, 8 September 2017

[59] Simon Gutsaru, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, 11 September 2017

[60] Peter Makureya, Interview

"warplanes flying in the skies" and "soldiers roaming all over on the ground,"[61] her husband joined them when they fled to Mozambique. The same applies also to Weston Samushonga who joined his two wives who fled to Mozambique.

4.2.4 Dimensions of Refugee Flows into Botswana and Zambia

Despite Botswana having acted as a transit route or offered sanctuary to people fleeing from various problems in Rhodesia since the 1960s, it was only in 1974 that it started receiving people directly affected by armed war in its eastern neighbour. Although most Rhodesians who fled Rhodesia using the Botswana route were from different parts of the country, the majority were from the western region. However, unlike in the east, the PV project never featured on the political scene in the west to cause discontentment amongst people. Instead, people's movements were limited to the actions of the armed actors operating in the region namely, the guerrillas and the RSF. Summarily, these actions can be zeroed to the recruitment tactics of the guerrillas and interrogation methods used by RSF against perceived guerrilla sympathisers. The war's violence also accounted for some of the refugee cases witnessed in that region. Despite the period 1976 to 1980 being an armed war period, social factors remained part of the coterie of problems that, as we shall see below, indirectly contributed to the numbers that swelled the refugee camps in Botswana and Zambia.

Of the above guerrilla actions, perhaps the most influencing factor was the radio broadcasts made from Zambia, calling on people to join the liberation struggle. For instance, Manka Ndlovu told Senzeni Khumalo that she was tempted by the broadcasts about talks that were supposed to take place in Geneva, Switzerland in 1976.[62] She crossed the border voluntarily to Botswana, and proceeded to Zambia where she found herself on the list of ZAPU's delegates to Geneva. Roy Ndlovu, for example, indicated that he only "went to war after listening to a lady called Jane speaking on the radio calling on all Zimbabweans to join the war."[63] So effective were these radio broadcasts that it seems more young boys and girls were enticed to think that life in Zambia was better as Otilia Ndlovu suggested to Senzeni. One such enticing message that Otilia got was that "*Abantwana bayafuneka, abanye bazahamba esikolo*" (children are also wanted [there]. Others will go to school). As she further

[61]Jane Mharapara, Interview

[62] Manka Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[63] Roy Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

elaborated, "the way the radio presentations were done made it possible for one to believe that *kumnandi* (it is rosy there). We didn't know that people were dying there, *kuyafiwa*."[64]

Although the majority of testimonies collected through oral history interviews from Bulilima District demonstrated people's enthusiasm to join the war as illustrated above, other factors also contributed to the cosmopolitan nature of people who flooded the refugee camps. In other words, not all people who were in those camps were like Christopher Nyoni who stated that "he left his employment as a garden boy"[65] intending to join the struggle. For instance, when Temba Male found herself amongst refugees in Pikwe, Botswana and later Zambia, her pilgrimage to the camps was something that she had not intended to do. Temba's story shared with Senzeni, embodies both the political situation, war execution as well as how people ended up crossing the border in districts such as Bulilima after 1976. The story starts with Temba telling Senzeni about the year that she left employment as a shopkeeper at Hangaria, Hingwe area of Bulilima in 1977. It proceeded as follows:

> 77 July that's when I left to go to the war
> *Why did you leave*
> There was a young man who was a security guard. I don't know what really happened because...
> *[interjection] He was a security guard?*
> Yes, he was a security guard there.
> *Ummm*
> So, I don't know how it all happened. I still remember that it was clear outside then we just heard somebody knocking at the door. We were two girls. Then we heard somebody knocking saying "open, don't ask me who I am, just open." When the door opened, we saw that there was somebody holding a gun.
> *Ummm*
> So, I just wondered whether he was a soldier or what. Then he told us to wake up and get dressed. Then we woke up and got dressed. Then he asked us, "Do you know who I am? I am the person who takes people to go and join the war. So today I have come to collect you and we are going."

Apparently, it seems also that when the gunman had barged into the room, he was not even concerned about whether his victims were dressed or not.

> We had not properly closed the door and he forcibly opened it.
> *Were you wearing anything?*
> Only half petticoats. So, he asked us to get dressed and we did so.
> *Whilst he watched?*
> Yes, we got dressed there.
> *How did you feel?*

[64] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[65] Christopher Nyoni, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 26 August 2017

> There was nothing we could do. There was nothing we could really do. We were just surprised why he was behaving like that. Another thing also was that the young man was drunk. He had drunk a lot.

Nonetheless, despite his drunkenness, it seems the gunman had not forgotten the real business of his visit. As Temba continued:

> Then he asked us whether we were aware that this was the time for war. We responded that yes, we were aware. Then he asked us why we had not bothered to go and join the war. Then we said we were going to do so. Then he asked us again whether we had heard that schoolchildren from Tegwani were taken to go to war. Then we said yes, we had heard the news. Then he said, "today you are going, are you hearing me?" At that point, I don't know whether there were people who had reported us. Then he said that, "people who told me said there is another person that you stay with, let's go and get him." Then we said yes, there is a security guard whose name is Frank. Then we went to Frank and said to him, "dress up, we have been told that today we are going." As Frank was just about to bend over the bed and get his shoes, the gunman hit him from behind with the butt of his gun.

As argued in the previous sections, the violence exhibited by the gunman to Frank in Temba's story runs parallel to notions of guerrilla armies that regarded the rural folk as their kith and kin as discussed by Manungo, Jokonya and others. In the war, encounters between guerrillas and rural folk were not always friendly. Instead, some of such encounters were marked by trails of fatalities. As Temba further elaborated on the confrontation:

> Then he took out a grenade and said to us "what is this?" We said it was a cup. We had never seen a grenade, so we said it's a cup. I and that other girl said it's a cup, we didn't know what it was. Moreover, it was in the night. ….. Then when he saw that we did not know anything, he went to Frank and asked him what this was. Frank held it and said "it's a grenade." Then he asked him, "How do you know that this is a grenade?" Frank responded saying, "Don't you know that I have been to South Africa? I saw this in a magazine." Then he stepped backwards and cocked his gun. I just thought he was going to shoot a person in front of me. All of a sudden, I heard vhaaaa, ah! That other girl started screaming. He repeated again and I saw Frank falling down. He had shot him in front of us and then he died there in that store.
> *Did the grenade explode in Frank's hands*?
> He had taken the grenade from him asking where it was that he got to know that it was a grenade. He had taken it and put it in his bag before shooting him. He shot him with the first bullet here and the second one got him here.
> *So, what was he really thinking about Frank? Did he think he was up to something?*
> He said "I have been told that Frank had some handcuffs" but they were not really handcuffs. They were just something that people play with. Yes, they were police handcuffs but they were not working.
> *They were not working?*
> Yes, they were not working at all. He used to joke with people intimidating them that I am going to arrest you. Therefore, people had reported him that he was in possession of police handcuffs.

Not only was the gunman's violence targeted against Frank. Instead, even Temba herself and others before her became victims of his violence and humiliation. She further explained the violent experiences at the hands of the gunman:

> Yeah, so I just got dizzy I couldn't manage to keep standing and I fell on top of Frank when he was dead like that. When I tried to get up, I was trembling and had to use the counter to support myself. The gunman asked me what was happening. I told him that I didn't know. Then he asked me if I was mad. I said I am not mad. Then he asked the other girl to hit me. The girl hit me lightly. Then he said I want you to slap her hard. Then she slapped me hard. Then he said ok. When he had shot Frank, there was a box with cooking oil. So, one of the bullets had hit the box and the oil started dripping. Then he asked us what was dripping. He asked us "what is happening with you girls, have you urinated." We responded that it was cooking oil dripping. Then he said, "this guy had handcuffs, I want you turn him around and search his pockets." We turned him around and some blood started splashing on our clothes and stained our hands. We then searched him but could not find the handcuffs. The gunman said let's go to his house. When we got to the house, we told him that the so-called handcuffs were useless. He said no, these are the handcuffs that he used to arrest people. He then took the grenade and the trousers and said let's go.
> *You left with him?*
> Yes, we left with him.
> *Were you not afraid?*
> Even if we were afraid, he had warned us that if we attempt to do anything, he was going to kill us. He told us that he had already killed four other people. He told us that he had killed Barnabas, the wife of a storekeeper, and other two people.
> *So, people were selling each other out?*
> He would say people had told him such and such a thing.
> *Who was Barnabas?*
> I don't know… So, we left that night and crossed the border[66]

Whereas the gist of Temba's story is about the young man holding a gun who suddenly appears with a message to take the girls to join the war, what is apparent is that crossing the border as an idea had nothing to do with Temba and her colleague. In fact, this was anchored on the gunman's modes of both recruiting and operating.

Indeed, after 1975 the political organisations engaged in the struggle against the Rhodesian regime were using different methods to get recruits. For instance, Temba mentions the story of the Tegwani school students who were force-marched into Botswana. The example of these students indicates different ways and reasons people ended up crossing borders. As in the case of Temba, some of the conscription methods involved violence and death as in the case of Frank, Barnabas, the shopkeeper's wife and two others revealed by her gunman

[66] Temba Male, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

abductor. However, in the Rhodesian war such conscription methods have a history. Prior to the Tegwani incident, Thomas Nhari, then a ZANLA commander unsuccessfully pioneered a similar recruitment exercise at St Albert's School in the Centenary area of North Eastern Zimbabwe in 1973.[67]

There were also other openings in Temba's story. For instance, when asking about how Temba had felt when the gunman had barged into their room half-dressed, Senzeni's thoughts were probably fixed on Nelly Tapelo's previous revelations on encounters between guerrillas and female recruits. Revealing how sexual violations were unavoidable in encounters between guerrillas and female conscripts prior to crossing the border, Nelly Tapelo said:

> My children do you think that it is possible not to have sexual encounters when you travel from that far [pointing] up until when you get to the border? That was unavoidable. During those days there was no Aids [HIV], we used to get [sexually transmitted infections] and we will cure them using traditional herbs[68]

Thus, although Nelly's story contrasts sharply with that of Marian Tsoro in Mutasa district who denied such sexual encounters ever happening to her because of her young age, Senzeni's thoughts were on the possible violation of the two girls by the gunman.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter produced a history of the causes of refugees' flights from the perspective of their experiences. It argues that in order to understand the historical dimensions of a problem such as refugees, what is required is to study the entire genealogy of that problem, starting from roots going to the apex. By approaching the discussion that way, what emerged were multiple dimensions in which people ended up coalescing in the refugee category. This contrasts with presentations made in existing historical literature whereby there was a compression of refugee histories into a linear narrative in which people who moved into spaces of refuge were seen as having been driven by a similar motive of wanting to join the war with an aim to achieve a similar goal of liberating the country.

[67] On Nhari's abduction attempt, see, N Bhebe, *The Zapu and Zanu Guerrilla Welfare and the Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe*, Mambo Press: Gweru, 1999, p 43

[68] Nelly Tapelo, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 24 August 2017

CHAPTER 5

RUNNING WITH THE TERRORISTS? THE ROLE OF THE RHODESIAN STATE IN SHAPING REFUGEES' EXPERIENCES

5.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the histories that were produced through Rhodesia's interactions with its citizens who were refugees outside its borders. It uses the theme, "running with the terrorists,"[1] used in Rhodesian circles, to define ordinary Africans who were found in the company of guerrillas as a framework to discuss refugee experiences manifested in RSF attacks on sites where refugees resided in neighbouring countries. Although several histories of such attacks have been written, none of the literature interpreted the events from refugee viewpoints. This is despite the fact that the central argument of both pro-and anti-Rhodesia literature, as defined by Bainstow, was about refugees, especially with regards to whether the sites were refugee camps or not.[2] In addition, there has also been a tendency to limit the discussions on wartime refugees and Rhodesia interactions to the site of the camps. This is regardless of the fact that there were more such interactive histories that were produced in other spaces that housed refugees such as the Botswana and Mozambican countryside.

The key question that this chapter grapples with is: how do refugees interpret their experiences of inclusion in struggles between military actors and other interested parties? I draw from Salehyan's observations on how refugees contribute to "militarised interstate disputes"[3] to highlight how the deployment of a "hot pursuit"[4] military strategy by Rhodesia, created a sense of insecurity for refugees in spaces of refuge. The chapter also relies on Fredrick Cooper's notes on confronting "tensions" inherent in historical matter as a way of

---

[1] This theme appears prominently in the respective works of R F Reid-Daly, *Pamwe Chete*, p 203 and Ed Bird, *The Special Branch War: Slaughter in the Rhodesian Bush Southern Matabeleland, 1976-1980*, (Durban, Kwazulu-Natal: Pine Town Printers, 2013), 60. The term was also used in parliamentary engagements of the 18th of August 1976 between MPs Maposa, Nilson and PK Van Der Byl, the Rhodesian Minister of Defence. See, Rhodesian Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament, Volume 94 Comprising period from 3RD August 1976 to 27TH August 1976 (NAZ Record file Number ZG1)

[2] T Bainstow, 2006 cited in Paul Jackson, 'The civil war roots of military domination in Zimbabwe: the integration process following the Rhodesian wan and the road to ZANLA dominance, Unpublished paper, University of Birmingham, August 2011

[3] Idean Salehyan, 'The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (October 2008) pp. 787-801. Downloaded from http://www.jstor.org/stable/25193850

[4] Hot pursuit was a military strategy deployed by the RSF to pursue the guerrillas in countries they were launching the struggle from. See for example, ibid, J.R.T Wood

unravelling the usually unsaid histories. [5] As I will show, enquiring about what it meant to be a refugee through the perspective of tension, allows us to ask critical questions about why refugees were at the centre of debates between Rhodesian military actors and the guerrillas. Instead of looking at refugees as victims of Rhodesia's overzealousness alone, I also explore the question of what the guerrilla military actors, the humanitarian organisations and the refugee host nations did to attract the Rhodesians to refuge spaces. This is demonstrated through presenting a history that articulates how guerrillas, nationalists, refugee host nations and humanitarian organisations all played their role in creating situations where thousands of refugees lost their lives. However, cognisant of the traumatic nature of the histories revealed through such an approach, my discussion of incidences such as the Nyadzonia attacks does not entail lack of empathy for survivors and victims alike. Instead, my discussion of these issues follows Sean Field's argument that this will "help the nation" to accept its history of trauma and "live better" with it.[6]

Lastly, I also draw from Stedman and Tanner[7]as well as Unger's[8] respective works on the uses and abuses of refugees in refugee settings to explain the exploitation that befell Rhodesian refugees upon their embroilment in the anti-Rhodesia military conflict. As the chapter will demonstrate, both the nationalist forces and the Rhodesians competed to use refugees to further their war interests. In such a setup, through the press-ganging incidences already discussed in the previous chapter, the nationalists had a longer history of tapping into refugees than Rhodesians who only contemplated doing so around 1977 onwards. Nonetheless, in most of the cases where refugees ended up as resources for military actors, this did not imply overwhelming refugee allegiances to the ideologies of either guerrilla or

[5] Fredrick Cooper, 'The Dialectics of Decolonisation: Nationalism and Labour Movements in Postwar French Africa', in Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1997), pp. 406- 435

[6] Sean Field cited in Robert Reynolds, 'Trauma and The Relational Dynamics of Life-History Interviewing', *Australian Historical Studies* Vol. 43 Number 1 (2012), pp78-88

[7] Stephen J. Stedman and Fred Tanner, 'Refugees as Resources in War' in Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War Politics, And the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C, 2003), pp. 1-16

[8] Daniel Unger, 'Ain't Enough Blanket: International Assistance and Cambodian Political Resistance', in Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War Politics, And the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington D.C, 2003), pp.17-56

RSF military actors. Rather, to borrow from Wood, this showed how "everyday social processes" for the refugees were shaped by regular contact with military actors.[9]

5.1 Refugee memories of the Nyadzonia attacks

Although Botswana was the first country to deal with refugees from Rhodesia,[10] it is important to observe that there is no available record on Rhodesia being concerned with those refugees or places where they stayed. Rather, Nyadzonia camp, in Manica Province, Mozambique on the 9th of August 1976 was the place and date where this first happened. It was at Nyadzonia where the intersection of loopholes in the refugee administration regime and Rhodesian repressiveness alluded to in the introductory remarks of this chapter find more expression. For historical representations, Nyadzonia is also the epitome of exclusion and inclusion of refugees in history as well as the silence surrounding such representations. For the refugees and Nyadzonia, a particular trend in existing representations reinforcing these silences, is the removal from the discourse of the intermingling that took place between the refugees and guerrillas in one space. Thus, what we have in historical representations is a pro- Rhodesian historical literature portraying the camp as a terrorist space and an anti-Rhodesian literature that regards it as an entirely refugee space. In both cases, refugee narratives are absent in the historical constructions.

While it is not clear as to when Nyadzonia was established as a camp for people fleeing the war in Rhodesia, the available historical source that gives hints to this is Edgar Tekere's biography. According to Tekere, who later became ZANU Secretary General in 1977, he had personally selected the site of Nyadzonia to be a "production camp" due to the availability of water resources in that area. [11]However, despite the problems of attempting to deduce a date of Nyadzonia camp establishment from Tekere's claims, former refugees who resided there such as Weston, Esnathy and Ronia and Gogo Jane contend that by the time they fled Rhodesia in 1976, they had found Nyadzonia already populated by thousands of people

[9] E. J Wood, 'The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks', *Annual Review of Political Science,* Number 11 (March 2008) pp 539-61

[10] For example, according to Neil Parsons, the Rhodesian Mazezuru church followers of Johanne Masowe were among the early refugees to enter the then Bechuanaland in 1956 after having been expelled from South Africa. See, Neil Parsons, 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956–68', *Social Dynamics* Vol. 34, No. 1, (March 2008) pp. 17–32

[11] Edgar Tekere and Ibbo Mandaza, *Edgar "2 Boy" Zivanai Tekere: A Lifetime of a Struggle*, (Sapes Books: Harare, 2007)

fleeing from the war.[12] Together with Thomas Dube who later transited into a guerrilla, the narratives of these individuals shed more insights on the setup of Nyadzonia as far as space coexistence was concerned.

5.2 Narratives of space organisation at Nyadzonia

Although the involvement of ZANU, as shown by the role Tekere claimed to have played upon the establishment of Nyadzonia is the first hint of possible interferences in refugee affairs by organisations opposing the Rhodesian regime, that fact alone, was not the major one that attracted the Rhodesian state. Instead, what attracted the Rhodesian regime to Nyadzonia was the use of the camp for multiple purposes namely as a recruiting point, recruits transit camp, refugee and possibly a military camp. Such multiple camp usages were well reflected in the residential arrangements of the camp whereby there were clear demarcations between the "barracks" of *vakomana* (boys) intending to join the war and the residences of the ordinary people, "the mass." Gogo Jane explained these residential setups as follows:

> In the camp, we were like this: *Vakomana* were like there across the valley, just like at those homesteads over there [pointing]. That was where the camp for *vakomana* was. Us mass, when we come [arrive at the camp], we were told to go and stay over there, just like at those homesteads over there. They will leave space here [in between].[13]

Ronia Samushonga also corroborated the way in which different groups of people lived at Nyadzonia:

> There, we were mixed with young boys who were being taken for training. They were on that side and we were in our own *postos*. They used to call them *postos*. Therefore, we were staying *kuvabereki* [parents] and they were on the other side in their barracks for boys and girls. In between there was a ground.[14]

Whereas both Gogo Jane and Ronia's narrations represented the views of those who resided as refugees in the *postos*, we get more insights on space coexistence from Thomas Dube, a former Nyadzonia camp inmate whose place of residence was the *vakomana* section of the

[12] Jane Mharapara, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Muparutsa'a area, Mutasa District, 7 September 2016 and interview with Weston B, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Sub Chief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa District, 9 September 2016

[13] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[14] Weston, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

camp. Unlike both Gogo Jane and the Samushonga family who stated that they were not searched upon their arrival at Nyadzonia, Thomas' narrative of first arrival at the same camp included being searched and a role by ZANU functionaries. Thomas described the practices he found existing at Nyadzonia on his arrival:

> *You told me that Nyadzonia was formed as refugee camp. You also told me that it was created through an agreement between ZANU and FRELIMO. I want to know where FRELIMO was when you were entering the gate. Who was responsible for your registration upon your arrival?*
> It was FRELIMO. No! When we entered the gate, it was like there was a comrade from Zimbabwe and a *Camarada* from FRELIMO. After entering, you will then proceed to security.
> *Where will you leave the watches?*
> At the gate
> *To FRELIMO?*
> No. You will surrender at the gate but you will have to give the ZANU person because we were ZANU. FRELIMO will not take our things. They belonged to people from Zimbabwe.[15]

Although these security checks by ZANU functionaries are the clearest hint which we get about the militarised character of the *Vakomana* section of Nyadzonia, we get more indicators from the justifications Thomas Dube gave on why confiscation of goods from recent arrivals was necessary. He explains:

> *Is there a record of people who were caught trying to enter Nyadzonia after having been sent by the enemy as you are saying?*
> Yes, they are there. There was a *Mbuya* Kutama who was once caught. She came there and she was exposed.
> *You are referring to her as Mbuya. Was she old?*
> Yes, she was an old woman and she was caught because the comrades really knew because if you come with your Colgate [tooth paste], they will ask you to eat it first or toothbrush you have to use it because the policy there was you surrender everything to your superior commander.
> *So you will have to surrender to a superior commander*
> Yes, because it was not allowed to wear a watch when your commander had none. It is like with your father at home. It is not normal for you to go outside wearing a coat, moving around in the yard when your father has none. How do you take that? There were laws for that.
> *Were these laws applicable to all?*
> We used only one way or the gate. Everything was confiscated[16]

[15] Thomas Dube, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Headman Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 9 September 2017.

[16] Thomas Dube, Interview

Despite narrative contradictions between a former resident of the *vakomana* section and those who resided in *postos*, what is undeniable is that Mozambique's FRELIMO and the UNHCR knew about what was happening at Nyadzonia. As stated above, when the Samushonga and Mharapara families went to Nyadzonia, FRELIMO escorted them there.[17] When Thomas made his way there, FRELIMO operatives, as his narrative suggests, were also present upon the inmates' first arrivals. Similarly, when all these refugees arrived at Nyadzonia, they also confirmed UNHCR's role in handing out humanitarian aid to camp inmates. According to Thomas Dube, although food was prepared communally at the *guzinyo*,[18] the powdered milk which they used as relish for *sadza*[19] was provided by a company called *canning* [sic] *Swedish* through the United Nations.[20] Weston Samushonga added that although the FRELIMO *Camaradas* were the responsible overseers of refugee affairs, there was a distribution of tasks between them and the UNHCR. For example, FRELIMO will be in charge of aspects such as the protection of refugees and ration distribution. Additionally, FRELIMO granted permission to refugees whenever they wanted to go for grocery purchases at "Peter's shop" which was just across the Nyadzonia River or to go and work in the local Mozambican fields in exchange for cassava. According to Samushonga, whenever they wanted to do this, FRELIMO camaradas gave them *gear de marches*.[21] FRELIMO also controlled religious activities in the camp by effectively saying "*abasha* (no)" to all Judaeo-Christian religious practices.[22] On their part, the UN provided humanitarian aid and visited the camp periodically to check on the refugees.[23] Thus, following the narrative testimonies of both Weston Samushonga and Thomas Dube, as far as refugee affairs were concerned, FRELIMO and UNHCR were on the ground.

[17] Both sets of families, the Mharapara and the Samushonga were escorted to Nyadzonia by Frelimo, see, Jane Mharapara, Interview and Weston B, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

[18] Shona language version for the Portuguese word *Cozinha* used by Thomas Dube for the cuisine ways of cooking used at the *vakomana* section of Nyadzonia camp

[19] Thick porridge, Zimbabwe's staple food

[20] Thomas Dube, Interview

[21] According to Weston Samushonga's narration, the *gear de marche* was a document that allowed refugees to travel around. They will produce it when requested by the camaradas or the Mozambican Povo. See Weston Samushonga

[22] *Abasha* is the Shona language translation of the word *baixa* in Portuguese, which means down in English. See, Weston Samushonga

[23] Weston Samushonga, Interview

When the Selous Scouts arrived at Nyadzonia camp on 9th August 1976[24] in the company of Morrison Nyathi,[25] vilified in most post-colonial pro Zimbabwe historical literature as anti-Rhodesia struggles' greatest ever sell-out, they were already knowledgeable of the camp's setup. According to Weston Samushonga, the Selous Scouts got knowledge of such a setup from Nyathi. Indeed, Nyathi knew about where FRELIMO and UNHCR started and ended as far as refugee affairs were concerned in the same manner that he knew about multiple usages of the camp. We get evidence of Nyathi's awareness of Nyadzonia from the descriptions given about him in oral testimonies. These descriptions do not only portray Nyathi as a visitor but also as a person involved in the goings on in the camp. As Gogo Jane first explained, before the disastrous attack "Nyathi "*aigara achiuya kuvakomana*" (Nyathi used to come to the boys quarters regularly).[26] Even before embarking on his journey to Rhodesia, he had also passed through Nyadzonia where, as she recalled, he had left after assuring "*vabereki* that I am going home [to Zimbabwe] to get food for you."[27]

Apart from refugee descriptions on Nyathi, two other issues show that Nyadzonia was a multi-purpose space. Firstly, the knowledge refugees demonstrated about the war effort in Rhodesia showed continued interactions between them and the guerrillas. Such interactions could not have been possible without space coexistence. Secondly, it is not possible that Nyathi could have led the Selous Scouts to a camp that was not a military one especially when, by 1976 several guerrilla camps already existed in Mozambique. More so, as a person described by Samushonga as highly knowledgeable in military issues,[28] Nyathi would not have wasted time leading the Selous Scouts to a camp hosting harmless refugee. Such war knowledge by Nyathi was described by Samushonga as follows:

> I can say Nyathi was a person who had gone to Mozambique. When he had gone to Mozambique, he had gone there as Smith's soldier. But when he went there, he joined *chisoja* (guerrilla military). When he left there, he was given a section to command so that he can fight since he was experienced in fighting. So, they said, "we are giving you people to fight with." He only fought twice, the third time was when he changed sides and went to *mabhunu* and said, "I have seen where they are." So, when it

[24] Although Weston Samushonga states the date as the 8th of August, both J.R.T Woods and Reid-Daly mentions the 9th of August as the date of the attacks. See, ibid, J.R.T Wood. See also, ibid, R.F Reid-Daly

[25] Morison Nyathi's real name was Livison Mutasa. See, Gerald Mazarire, 'Discipline in ZANLA: 1964-79', *Journal of African Studies* (September 2011), pp. 571-591

[26] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[27] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[28] Weston Samushonga, Interview

> happened that way, that was when he came with vehicles, those armoured cars, do you know them? Eight of them, then they came through Nyaronga…"[29]

Whilst there are contradictions in historical sources on Samushonga's claim of Morrison Nyathi having been a Smith's soldier[30] before joining the guerrillas, that he was a senior military figure in guerrilla circles is documented.[31] As such, when he informed the Selous Scouts that "he had seen where they are",[32] Nyathi could not have been referring to ordinary refugees. Further, the manner in which the Nyadzonia invasions were subsequently executed was inconsistent with attacks on non-military installations. Samushonga vividly remembers the Nyadzonia invasion being executed:

> Therefore, as he was coming, he (Nyathi) told *mabhunu* that "I am painting you."[33] Then he painted all of them [disguising them to appear as black people]. After that, he handcuffed some of them so that it will appear as if he had captured them. He arrived at Nyadzonia with those ones. He arrived in the evening. However, when it was in the morning, we heard vehicles coming vhuum vhuum then we asked ourselves what those vehicles were coming to do. Then we thought that maybe they were bringing food. People came out of the barracks hoping that food had arrived. After that, Nyathi then climbed on top of a vehicle and started shouting that *vana ve Zimbabwe tapandukirana* (children of Zimbabwe we are now enemies)[34]

It should be recognised that if indeed Nyathi had arrived at Nyadzonia with captured and painted RSF soldiers, what he could have done was to hand them over to the *camaradas* who were guarding the camp. By taking them to his fellow comrades, Nyathi's actions imply that such comrades exercised some form of independence from the *camaradas,* hence it was not necessary to inform them. In fact, according to Thomas, there was precedence to Nyathi's behaviour with the supposed captured RSF soldiers. Prior to the Nyadzonia attacks, Nyathi had also captured an Assembly Tobacco Cigarettes delivery van near Chibabava that he brought to the same Nyadzonia camp. On arrival, as a way of alerting his fellow comrades to

---

[29] Weston Samushonga, Interview

[30] Most pro-Rhodesia historical sources dispute this claim of Morrison Nyathi having been an RSF soldier. Instead, most such sources portray him as a turned ZANLA guerrilla meaning a captured guerrilla who had to change sides after interrogation. See, Peter Baxter, *Selous Scouts*

[31] Mazarire. See also Fay Chung, *Reliving the Second Chimurenga*: *Memories from Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (Weaver Press: Harare, 1996), p 143

[32] Weston Samushonga, Interview

[33] Painting denotes a method used by the Selous Scouts to disguise themselves as blacks. To achieve, they will paint their bodies using black paint.

[34] Weston Samushonga, Interview

his arrival with a heist, Nyathi, according to Thomas, fired a gun and subsequently earned himself punishment for a behaviour deemed as contradicting both the camp rules and military conduct. Thus, in this regard, when Nyathi made his declaration of enmity address, his intended audience as the oral narrative suggests, were not the refugees in their *postos*. Rather this was directed to his comrades as well as the young boys and girls awaiting transit to training camps. Following Nyathi's lead, the Selous Scouts also directed their gunfire to the *vakomana's* barracks.

However, when the attacks were carried out, it seems also that upon the invasion, nobody on the refugees' side was killed by the Selous Scouts initial gunfire. Explaining how the refugees had survived the Selous Scouts gunfire attack, Gogo Jane states:

> We can say there was no one who was killed because we heard gunshots from the side of the *vakomana*. We just saw the barracks being burnt. We saw huge flames of fire. The smoke blackened the whole sky, covering the sun in the process.[35]

Ronia Samushonga also corroborated this assertion by mentioning:

> At Nyadzonia, it was around 8 (am) when the war arrived. Me, I was going to the garden. The *camaradas* had invited us to get [vegetable] seeds from them because many children were suffering from diarrhoea. Before we could put the seeds in a nursery that was when the war started. After it started like that, the sun was around 8 [am]. *Baba* [her husband] was just ahead of me just like from here to that house over there (pointing) and I was here. So, I was holding a garden can, and I was also carrying my child number four because when I crossed there, I had four children, Bannie, Daniel, Thebie and Martha. Martha was just 2 weeks old. When the vehicles arrived, somebody said "are those not vehicles *dzemutupo*?" I said ah vehicles *dzemutupo*, which looks like that? Why is it that they look like the vehicles that we ran away from at home? Before I could finish my statement, gunfire started… There was a big house, which was used to house the sick, and it was hit by a bomb and started burning. That is when I said ah! That is war! Look at that house which is burning. Those are not vehicles for *mutupo*.[36]

Still others did not even see Nyathi and the Selous Scouts' arrival at all and they were only alarmed by the pandemonium. Esnathy Samushonga was one such person who did not even see the Selous Scouts arrival. She explains:

> What happened was we were at Nyadzonia. We just saw people running and then we started running. I was with *maiguru*'s child number? (thinking) because she is the eldest amongst the girls. I then picked my kid and carried her on my back. I did not even tie her with anything. Then I carried her like that and started running. So, when I

[35] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[36] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

> got to the Nyadzonia River I didn't know whether people were doing this or doing that. I thought they were crossing the river like that and go eh..[37]

When Ronia and Weston Samushonga mentioned words such as *vana ve Zimbabwe* and *Mutupo* to explain their recollection of the Nyadzonia refugee camp attack, these words were infused with many meanings. Firstly, they reveal the level of ideological conscientization that was going on in the camp and secondly, they reveal the nature of interactions that were taking place in the camp. Thus, the term *vana ve Zimbabwe* implies that the refugees were being ordered to think of themselves as Zimbabweans as opposed to being Rhodesians or Mozambicans. In the case of Nyadzonia, the people who could have conducted such conscientization were the military actors in those camps.

Apart from revealing constant guerrilla refugee interactions in the space of the refugee camp, a term such as *mutupo* also has meanings especially when considering the context in which refugees had to familiarise with such terms. It should be remembered that the years 1975 and 1976 represented the period when ZIPA[38] were in the process of replacing the nationalist organisations of ZAPU and ZANU in the struggle for Rhodesia.[39] Although several historical sources regards ZIPA as having been nothing more than a military organisation which was a result of ZANU and ZAPU military amalgamations,[40] it seems that it was thinking beyond that.[41] During that period, apart from being critical of both the nationalists and the old nationalist organisations, the language used by ZIPA leaders indicates that they were beginning to regard themselves as the only authentic force in the anti-Rhodesia struggle.

---

[37] Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

[38] For notes on ZIPA, see for example, David Moore, 'The Zimbabwe People's Army moment in Zimbabwean history, 1975-1977: Mugabe's rise and democracy's demise', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vo.32, No. 3 (2014), pp. 302-318

[39]Although ZIPA was formed by elements of both ZAPU and ZANU's military wings as ascertained by David Moore my argument to define their actions as replacement stems from the words used by one of ZIPA's architects, Wilfred Mhanda, *nom de guerre* Dzinashe Machingura. In an interview held on the 22nd of September 1976, Machingura defined ZIPA as a "product of the voluntary merger of the military wing of the former ZANU (ZANLA) and the military wing of the former ZAPU (ZIPRA)." To show that ZIPA was thinking beyond these two organisations that he labelled as "former", Machingura also hinted that ZIPA was in the process of transforming itself "into a political movement." See, Mozambican Information Agency and Dzinashe Machingura, 'The Zimbabwe People's Army: An Interview with Dzinashe Machingura', *Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (Spring, 1977), pp. 15-18. Downloaded from http://www.jstor.org/stable/1166369

[40] David Moore, 'The Zimbabwe People's Army'

[41] Mozambican Information Agency and Dzinashe Machingura, 'The Zimbabwe People's Army: An Interview with Dzinashe Machingura'

However, as Thomas later asserted, the usage of the word *mutupo* in Mozambique represented ZANU attempts to reverse ZIPA's move towards autonomy. In the context of the space of the refugee camp, usage of the term *mutupo* can then be regarded as an attempt to remind both the refugees in camps and the fighters not to forget their political ancestry as implied by a totem.[42] In this case, ZANU was the *mutupo* of that ancestral lineage. However, when Ronia invoked the term in her recollection of the arrival of the Selous Scouts, this reflects an assertion that the struggles that were taking place in the political arena were also filtering to the refugees through conscientization. In this case, ZANU was getting more a foothold than ZIPA. For Nyadzonia, refugee knowledge about these *mutupo* vehicles implies that they constantly visited the refugee camp for recruitment, a situation which, in this context, compromised the refugees' security.

Apart from Nyadzonia having been used as a recruitment camp, it seems also that at this stage, the refugees were being taught basic military skills to protect themselves in case of emergency. Although imparting such skills to refugees by military actors can be read within the framework of military indoctrination that should not have happened especially when given the space of Nyadzonia as a refugee camp, such skills, nonetheless, later proved useful to the refugees. For example, Ronia's escape from Nyadzonia was in part due to these survival tactics. She describes her escape as follows:

> There was a house where we stayed. I just passed through it. I was not able to pick up my other kids because the bullets were just too much. In the direction that I took, there was an anthill. So, I remembered what I had been told that if war comes, you should fall down and start crawling. Do not keep running, crawl. Therefore, I fell down and started crawling. When I got to the anthill, God helped me and I started rolling down until I got to Nyadzonia River. When I got to the river and took a glimpse, the comrades that I saw there shocked me.
> *What were they like?*
> Many young men there had been shot when they got to the river.[43]

Describing the dead as comrades implies that there were no ordinary civilians. During the anti-Rhodesia war, the term comrade was used interchangeably with *vana mukoma* (Shona)

[42] Amongst the Shona people *mutupo* is clan animal, which people belonging to the same genealogical origins identifies with. It is taboo and is revered by that group of people. *Mutupo* is attached to an individual for life and is transmitted to the next generations. For notes on the meaning of mutupo, see, H.M.T Meadie, 'The Origin and Universality of Taboo and Totemism', *The Native Affairs Departmental Annual*, No. 1 (December 1923), pp 73-79. See also, Antonio Santos Marizane, 'Religious Change in the Trans-Frontier Nyungwe-speaking region of the middle Zambezi, c.1870-c.1970', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 29 May 2016

[43] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

and *obuthi* (Ndebele), to denote nationalist fighters as different from the ordinary masses. However, whereas the Selous Scouts' bullets accounted for most of the dead recruits or comrades, the Nyadzonia River accounted for most refugee dead. As the attack progressed, it seems that the Rhodesians became indiscriminate in their approach to prevent their targets from fleeing. As a result, both the refugees and the recruits became targets. This led to most refugees drowning in the Nyadzonia River. As Weston Samushonga remembers:

> As we were running away, others ran into the river and died there. Others were born locations[44] who did not know how to swim. People perished there. However, I crossed holding my child who later passed away (after the war). Initially, I had crossed the river leaving him behind. I don't know how he managed to see me and I heard him calling me saying "*baba* are you leaving me behind?" When I heard his voice, I then went back to collect him. I managed to cross with him but *zvimaproganda* were draining our strength because they were throwing those propagandas so that we won't be able to run away
> *What is a propaganda*
> It was a teargas. That's what is called a propaganda. Those teargasses that are thrown and explode like pam pam.[45]

Whereas gunfire had already caused pandemonium, the teargases had exacerbated it. This resulted in the separation of children from their parents. As we have seen above, Ronia Samushonga fled without most of her children. One was, however, saved by Esnathy Samushonga, her co-wife.[46] Meanwhile, during the pandemonium, Gogo Jane recalls other refugees fleeing to as far away as Tete. She had to seek refuge amongst the "Mozambican mass."[47] She reunited with her fellow refugees after "FRELIMO came and took them to Doroi,"[48] some days after the attack.

5.3 After Nyadzonia effects and trauma

As seen in the previous chapter, a characteristic of most refugee memories about their flight from Rhodesia was the seldom mentioning of the Rhodesian state as their direct enemy. In the stories of their flight from Rhodesia, the refugees primarily saw themselves as victims of

[44] Derogatory term commonly used by rural Zimbabweans to refer to their counterparts born in urban areas who are not used to the hard life of the countryside.

[45] Weston Samushonga, Interview

[46] Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

[47] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[48] Jane Mharapara, Interview

war. Rarely did they mention Rhodesia in isolation as solely responsible for their plight.[49] However, this all changed when the Selous Scouts adopted an indiscriminate approach in the attack on Nyadzonia. Such an approach emboldened the refugees' beliefs of Rhodesia as a killer.[50] As we have seen, before the attacks, indoctrination was the tool used to configure refugee mindsets to think about the Rhodesian regime as their enemy. That Rhodesia was the refugees' enemy was further reified when they also became victims of the attacks. This made the refugees to endear themselves to the comrades. At the same time they also started to construct images of Nyathi as a killer in their mindsets.

We first begin to see the refugees endearing themselves more to the comrades through their reminiscences of their struggles to escape from Selous Scouts bullets and to negotiate the natural barriers along their escape route. Ronia vividly recalls how the comrades appeared on the scene when she was in the middle of a dilemma about her next move and they helped her with a solution:

> We were now far away from the camp. Then I started asking myself "where am I going without my children?" I had come (from the then Rhodesia) with three children and I was carrying the fourth one on my back. So, I began to ask myself, "why did I come here in the first place? Was it not that I came here running away from the war so that I can save my children?" Then I told myself that I was going back to the camp. As I was going back, I met a group of comrades, comprising of both boys and girls. Among them was a girl who had a mutilated breast. They were also carrying another boy who had been shot on the back on a stretcher. They asked me "mother where are you going?" I replied that I was going back to the camp for I left my children there. Then they said "mother your ancestors have broken the baby shawl. Do you know war? If you go back to the camp, you are going to die there. Those children that you are looking for are going to survive." Then I stopped and started thinking again on what to do next. As I was thinking, they said "mother lets go where we are going. Mind you, you are carrying Comrade Mutota on your back. Let us go where we are going"
> *Who was Comrade Mutota?*
> The child I was carrying was the *matoto*. During that time, young children were called *matoto*. During the war that was the language that we were taught to communicate with.[51]

[49] None of the refugees who went to Mozambique interviewed for this study was a direct victim of RSF military actions. They were victims of the war actions of both the RSF and the guerrillas.

[50] Nyathi emerges in the refugee narratives as the person who "killed us."

[51] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

In this story, not only did the comrades assist Ronia to make a decision. They made her to think of herself also as a target of Rhodesia. As they made it clear, had Ronia gone back to the camp, the Selous Scouts were not going to spare her because of her refugee status.

The endearment of the refugees to the comrades was expressed more when they came to the Pungwe River, a natural barrier which both Esnathy and Ronia described as the greatest challenge along their escape route.[52] According to them, only the Selous Scouts bullets they had just survived rivalled the Pungwe. Ronia remembers the comrades coming to her aid by assisting her to cross the river:

> We had walked until when we got to the Pungwe River. Umm at Pungwe, there was real trouble there. There was nowhere to cross. At Pungwe, it was really hard for us there. We started pleading with God to kill us with guns so that we can rest. This problem was just too much for us. A comrade then took my baby. He just said "give me the baby, I can assure you that one day this child will be a leader tomorrow." So, he took the child and said "follow this child." We then got to a place where there was a waterfall and they said we should flow with the water and they were waiting to catch us at the other end…[53]

This story by Ronia was also collaborated by Esnathy who also recalls being assisted to negotiate the Pungwe River by the boys in her company. According to her:

> Pungwe was a wide river with small islands. Then we followed the river. In other places, you had to jump. So, you will hop from one place to another whilst the boys we were with were standing over there. In some places, they will hold your hand and assist you to jump. They will tell you not to let go off the hand in case you will be swept by the river. At that place, I still remember others being eaten alive by crocodiles.
> *Were there crocodiles in Pungwe River?*
> Yes, they were there and others were being eaten. So, we were wondering whether we were going to get out of that place alive. We started wondering whether we were going to manage to cross the river. We were also asking ourselves whether we were going to be fighting two battles at the same time. Finally, we crossed the river.[54]

A successful negotiation of the physical barrier of the Pungwe River did not entail the end of the problems for the refugees. Instead, we begin to see the image of the Rhodesians and Nyathi as killers appearing in the refugees' lives in the form of traumatic upsurges mentioned

[52] Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

[53] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

[54] Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

above. According to Ronia, the first such expose´ emerged in the refugees' mindsets in the following manner:

> When we got to the tarred road, the camaradas were looking for us with their vehicles. So, there was a whistle code that we had been taught to call each other. There was one to say, "come," another to say "run away and the other to mean "take cover." So, they were calling us with the inviting code. Then we said ah! that's Nyathi who has killed us. He has followed us. Then we started running away from the tar into the forest. We hid there. They tried to catch up with us but they failed. We were now behaving like wild animals. ….We remained in hiding and the camaradas continued to call us. After a while, they decided to enter the forest to look for us. They started calling us saying "*vana ve Zimbabwe* please come out." They then identified themselves as our camp leaders. They revealed their names. We then said that could not be Nyathi. Let us get out. It is safe now.

The image of Nyathi continued to appear in various forms in the lives of refugees. Some of these was the nightmares that some of the refugees endured in the aftermath of their escape from Nyadzonia. Ronia recalled an incident whereby a nightmare flare up caused pandemonium in the camp leading to refugees fleeing into the forest again. The incident happened as follows:

> We got to Daffi. We spent two days there and they said this place is not suitable. They took us to another place which used to be a pig farm…In the middle of the night, another boy who was at the gate started calling out saying Nyathi *uyo!* Nyathi *uyo!* (there is Nyathi! there is Nyathi!). When he called the name Nyathi people started killing each other trying to escape in the middle of the night.
> *Was this a dream or hallucination?*
> Yes, and people started saying "Nyathi is here again, death is here again." Then we all ran in different directions and it was raining. There were people who were falling down as well as those who were slipping and injuring their legs in the process. When we were at some distance, they called us back saying there was no Nyathi. Still people were hesitant to come out of the bush.[55]

The post Nyadzonia event disturbances did not only manifest in refugees who had experienced displacement from Nyadzonia. For instance, when Marian Tsoro and her colleagues arrived at Daffi in Chimoio after the Nyadzonia incident, the effects of that incident also affected her. According to her, she was troubled a great deal by the scenes of suffering that she witnessed amongst the displaced refugees. As she recalls:

> When we arrived at a place called Daffi, we were told that the people there had come from Zimbabwe. When we arrived there, we saw that the people were there for sure. However, they were suffering a great deal. Some of them could not even walk. Some had wounds whilst some were very sick.

[55] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

Was it those wounds that start on their own?
Yes, they were suffering a lot. Some were even putting on blankets. That's when we started crying. Our whole group cried. We lamented why we had left our homes. At that moment we thought it was better for us to have remained at home and die at the hands of *mabhunu*. But at that time, there was nothing we could do. We could not even remember the direction of home. That's when we met Cde Jungle who used to operate in our area [in Zimbabwe]… Cde Jungle told us that what we had seen was nothing compared to Doroi where we were going. At Doroi, Cde Jungle told us, "there was cholera there." He then asked us why we decided to come [to Mozambique][56]

I shall return to the discussion of how Mozambique dealt with the issue of displaced refugees from Nyadzonia in the next chapter after exploring the other dimensions that took place in the refugees' experiences through Rhodesia's efforts to curtail "running with the terrorists" conditions.

5.4 RENAMO conscript Rhodesian refugees

If the guerrillas were guilty of using refugees as resources for war as discussed above, then the Rhodesians were equally guilty of later doing exactly the same things they had stated as reasons for attacking Nyadzonia. In 1977, RENAMO, the Mozambican rebel movement, started conscripting some of the refugees from Mutasa District who had self-settled themselves in several chieftaincies in Mozambique. Whilst Rhodesia might not have played a direct role in the conscription of these male refugees, RENAMO's Rhodesian links implicate them.[57] What further incriminates Rhodesia was that the military training of the conscripted refugees took place on Rhodesian soil, at Odzi, a small town located near the city of Mutare. As a result, it is impossible to miss Rhodesian links in RENAMO activities.[58]

Whereas the historical links between RENAMO and Rhodesia have been well documented, what historical sources have not fully explored were its recruitment policies and the sources of those recruits. Nonetheless, when RENAMO approached Rhodesia asking for assistance, the Rhodesian Special Branch (SB) purportedly jumped at the opportunity for an alliance

[56] Marian Tsoro, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Chiku Village, Sub chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa District, 9 September 2017.

[57] On Rhodesian Renamo links, see, Paul French, *Shadows of a Forgotten Past: To the Edge with the Rhodesians-SAS and Selous Scouts*, (Helion and Company: UK, C G Books: UK, 2012), p. 15

[58] Ibid

with them.[59] This they did in order to distract FRELIMO from offering full support to anti-Rhodesia organisations based in Mozambique.[60] Whilst it is not known whether the idea to recruit amongst refugees had also emanated directly from SB ranks or that it was one which RENAMO had mooted in the field, what has been revealed in this study, is that RENAMO recruited Rhodesian refugees who had settled among Mozambican villagers into its ranks. As Peter Makureya,[61] Simon Gutsaru,[62] David Mutivo[63] and Cecilia Saraurayi's[64] narratives testify, such recruitments constituted both elements of voluntary and involuntary choices. However, just like at Nyadzonia, a unique feature emerging in the experiences of both voluntary and involuntary conscription is that they were all a result of RSF intentions to disrupt the guerrilla refugees' interactions taking place in Mozambican villages.

As stated in the previous chapters, Makureya and Gutsaru were amongst some of the people who had gone to Mozambique at the instigation of their families.[65] When in Mozambique, Gutsaru first resided in Chief Nyandiro's area.[66] After his family misrepresented themselves to FRELIMO *camaradas* as Mozambicans, Gutsaru joined the Mozambican People's *Militia*.[67] After spending time in the People's *militia* ranks, RENAMO arrived and overthrew FRELIMO before chasing them from the area.[68] As Gutsaru explained, after the expulsion of FRELIMO, all the *Militias* in his operational zone, including him, defected "with their guns" to RENAMO.[69]

Unlike Gutsaru who had joined RENAMO almost voluntarily due to changed circumstances, Makureya's case was different. Firstly, before joining RENAMO, he and his family had a

[59] Ibid

[60] Ibid

[61] Peter Makureya, Interview

[62] Simon Gutsaru, Interview

[63] David Mutivo, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sipeya Village, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Honde Valley, 11 September 2017

[64] Cecilia Saraurayi, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sipeya Village, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Honde Valley, 11 September 2017

[65] Simon Gutsaru, Interview and Peter Makureya, Interview

[66] Simon Gutsaru, Interview

[67] According to Gutsaru, the People's *Militia* was like a neighbourhood security protection force See, Simon Gutsaru, Interview

[68] ibid

[69] ibid

history of being troubled by RSF soldiers whilst in Mozambique. Explaining the situation caused by RSF intrusions in Mozambique, Makureya's wife Evelyn Makwara explained that:

> We were staying at my parents' homestead. When we were there, *mabhunu* started coming there to trouble us.
> *Did they cross the border?*
> Yes, they were crossing the border and they were painted. Those days we were now sleeping at the graveyard. What we will do is that in the evening, each person will take his or her own way to the graveyard. They used to refer it as *kucemataria* (cemetery). We will take different ways there. When it was raining, we will construct structures using grass and dig small canals so that we will not get wet….. That was when we moved to Nyandiro where my mother's younger sister was staying.[70]

Whilst it is not clear in the oral sources whether in troubling Mozambican villagers, the RSF thought the villagers were also interacting with the guerrillas or not, what is certain according to Simon Gutsaru's explanation was that they were caught "in the crossfire." Indeed, as we shall see below, RSF operational methodologies did not distinguish between a black Rhodesian refugee and a local Mozambican. This was different to guerrillas, who, according to the testimonies of Noah Mangemba, Saraurayi and Junior Maboni, were able to distinguish, using language traits, the difference between Mozambican locals and Rhodesian refugees. This was despite the refugees' attempts to hide their Rhodesian identities, claiming instead to be Mozambicans.

When the Makureya family got to Nyandiro, they did not find the peace and security they were looking for. Instead, in about 1978, just "two seasons"[71] after settling in Nyandiro, an event that changed the Makureya family's refugee life in Mozambique happened. RENAMO visited them and Makureya was press-ganged into military recruitment.[72] According to Evelyn's recollection of the events that happened on that unfortunate day:

> I was pregnant that time and suffered a miscarriage. *Baba* (her husband) said let's go and sleep at our farm, in the forest. I refused because I was still in pain. So, I told him that it was not possible for me to sleep in the forest considering my pain. I told him that I wanted to sleep in the house. In the middle of the night, we heard knocks on the door, ko ko ko. This was followed by a voice, "Peter, Peter, is Peter in there?" I answered saying Peter is not here, he left for Manica this morning. Then they said, "don't lie to us, he must come out now. If you don't avail him to us, if we get in there and find him, we are going to kill him straight away." Then I said to him "go out" and he went out to meet them. They then told him to take just one pair of clothes and

[70] Evelyn Makwara, Interview

[71] Evelyn Makwara, Interview and Peter Makureya, Interview

[72] Peter Makureya, Interview

> shoes. They then told me that if you don't have anywhere to go, there are people who are going to come and take you and your family for protection somewhere.[73]

Whereas Makureya did not explain whether he had been a victim of deliberate targeting of Rhodesian refugees or not, Mangemba and Saraurayi narrated that during that time RENAMO targeted Rhodesian refugees. For instance, Mangemba survived RENAMO conscription through sleeping in the forest. The same also applies to Mutivho who, despite not giving much elaborations, also confirmed that he was a victim of RENAMO forced conscription.

After his involuntary conscription, Makureya was taken to Odzi where he was trained by the Rhodesians. After a six month training, he was deployed to the Save River valley to fight both FRELIMO and the guerrillas.[74]Meanwhile, after Makureya had left his family, true to RENAMO's parting words, FRELIMO c*amaradas* visited Evelyn. It is not clear whether the *camaradas* were the people who RENAMO had referred to when they had told Evelyn Makwara that "there are people who are coming to take you for protection."[75] When the *camaradas* arrived at her place, they discussed the issue of protection with her. As she explained, the *camaradas* had proposed to take her and the family to Chimoio for protection, possibly at a refugee camp. However, she declined the offer, telling them that her parents were in Chief Makore's area and as such, she wanted to return to them.[76]

After returning to Makore, misfortunes confronted Evelyn again. According to her, people in Makore started saying "look at her, her husband is with RENAMO."[77] When the *camaradas* in chief Makore's area heard about that, they arrested her together with her younger sister and other women whose husbands had also been taken away by RENAMO.[78] She was taken to a prison where she was locked up for six months. She was only released after lying to her

[73] Evelyn Makwara, Interview

[74] Peter Makureya, Interview

[75] Evelyn Makwara, Interview

[76] Ibid

[77] ibid

[78] ibid

gaolers that by the time of Makureya's conscription, he was no longer her husband as they had divorced.[79]

5.5 Armed forces converge in spaces of refuge

Another important dimension in understanding how refugees became an arena for contestation during the war was how they were enmeshed in the guerrilla and FRELIMO versus RSF and RENAMO conflict in Mozambique as well as in Rhodesia and Botswana's border problem between 1976 and 1979. When Rhodesia decided to export violence to Mozambique under the pretext that such actions were sanctioned by "international law, international convention,"[80] it should be recognised that the intention was to disrupt the roots of what appeared to them as a chain of guerrilla activity. By coexisting in the same spaces as guerrillas, Rhodesia viewed refugees as part of this chain. However, despite claims that "hot pursuit" was enshrined in "international law, international convention," Rhodesia emerged from the fiasco of the Nyadzonia attacks diplomatically bruised. Regardless of the diplomatic setbacks, Rhodesia remained adamant that the guerrilla problem was intertwined with refugees and, hence, could not be solved in isolation from refugees who continued to roam foreign spaces within easy reach of guerrilla mobilisation, recruitment and use for diplomatic purposes. As a result, apart from maintaining constant attacks on camps that hosted both refugees and guerrillas in both Mozambique and Zambia, the RSF remained preoccupied with the border problem with Botswana and upped military activities in the Mozambican countryside.

As indicated in the previous section, in Mozambique, Rhodesia's RSF were colluding with RENAMO or *Matsanga*[81] as RENAMO fighters were popularly known to the refugees during the Mozambican civil war. However, just like the case with the RSF and guerrilla presence in Mozambican villages, the activities of *Matsanga* fighters started to create problems for Rhodesian refugees. According to Cecilia Saraurayi, *Matsanga* activities did not only rope in the refugees into the Mozambican civil war conflict but also brought them into direct confrontation with FRELIMO. She revealed how the arrival of Matsanga disrupted the refugees' life in the following dialogue:

---

[79] Ibid

[80] 'Smith Warns Mozambique and Zambia' and Rhodesia Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 94

[81] The name Matsanga was derived from that of RENAMO's first leader, Andrea Matsangaise

When you were in Mozambique, did you ever meet the Camaradas?
Yes, during the time when Matsanga started to infiltrate the area, we were staying like here and then they bombed like at those houses over there [pointing] that was when we suffered a lot. People were caught and gathered at a dwala.
Who was catching them?
By the *Camaradas*. They wanted to know why *Matsanga* had attacked the village.
Were people beaten by the Camaradas?
Yes.
Were you also beaten?
I had a young child and therefore I was spared but our husbands were beaten. Even women were also beaten. On that occasion only three women were beaten. They were asked to explain what had really happened. Therefore, you know what happens when a woman is beaten. They reveal whatever comes to their minds.
Eee
So, others confessed that they had seen them (*Matsanga)*. Therefore, they were beaten for that revelation. They (the *Camaradas*) will say why didn't you come to report immediately after you had seen them (Matsanga).
All right, when you were being asked to confess that you had seen Matsanga, had you really seen them?
They did not come to our neighbourhood. What you should know is that Matsanga was coming from the Zimbabwe side. Therefore, they were targeting people coming from Zimbabwe. They will capture people when they were sleeping at night and take them back to Rusape [sic] where they will train them and after that, they will return to bomb Mozambican villages.[82]

Matsanga did not only create problems for the Rhodesian refugees through attacking the villages. Just like in the case of Evelyn Makwara above, any figment of a kin relationship between the refugees and RENAMO also had the potential to attract the *Camaradas*. For instance, Junior Maboni stated that she had a daughter who was married to a RENAMO (*Matsanga*) fighter. According to her, there were occasions when her RENAMO son-in-law visited her purportedly to see his wife, her daughter. Each time that happened, when the *Camaradas* got news of the RENAMO's visit, they interrogated Junior and her family on why "your sons are visiting you."[83] Nonetheless, for Junior, continued interrogations by FRELIMO later led to her repatriation to Rhodesia, an event that, as we will see below, created an opportunity for Rhodesia to attempt to score some humanitarian and diplomatic points.

[82] Cecilia Saraurayi, Interview

[83] Junior Maboni, Interview

Whereas association with RENAMO was viewed as a problem by the FRELIMO authorities, the Mozambican villagers had their own concerns with the presence of Rhodesian refugees especially considering that their villages had been translated into war zones. As Saraurayi explained, once the RSF attacked a guerrilla base that was located close to their village, "many people died in the area" and at one homestead, "twelve people were killed."[84] These deaths included both Mozambicans and refugees. Due to the unselective nature of the war, tensions also started to rise between Mozambicans and the Rhodesian refugees. As a result, Saraurayi remembers all the refugees being invited to a *banja* (meeting) where the Mozambican villagers asked whether it was not possible to relocate the Rhodesian refugees to a space of their own, where, if "*mabhunu* comes they will sort each other there."[85]

The creation of animosities between the refugees and locals was not only limited to spaces where the refugees had self-settled. The refugees in camps were also affected by such problems. In the camps, these animosities emerged each time when the refugees wanted to run away from signs that spelt insecure situations. Ronia Samushonga explained how these animosities emerged:

> *At Doroi were you ever troubled by the Camarads*
>
> Those who troubled us were the locals. They always reminded us that we triggered a war with our Smith and now we wanted to bring it to them. Those were the people who tried to trouble us, *povo*. Just like the way in which we are living here in our homesteads, we will receive news that war was coming. When we try to pass through their homesteads so that we can flee, they will shout at us. They will tell us to use other routes whilst accusing us of trying to bring war to them. Those are the people who were brewing trouble, the locals. They will say "use other routes, you want to invite your Smith? You are Smith's children. You want us to be killed? They did not want to see us at all.[86]

So deep were the beliefs of local Mozambicans neighbouring Doroi refugee camp that their neighbours, the refugees from war torn Rhodesia spelt doom for them that they had to express tehir animosity using arms of war. As Weston Samushonga explained, the local Mozambicans will "shoot at us using *migogodo* (traditional guns) and there were also others who were shot with bows and arrows."[87]

---

[84] Cecilia Saraurayi, Interview

[85] ibid

[86] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

[87] Weston Samushonga, Interview

The refugees clearly attracted armed forces to spaces where they were coexisting with Mozambican locals. As hinted in the previous section, guerrilla interaction with refugees also continued to persist in Mozambican villages when they were going both to and from Rhodesia. As Tendai Jimu, remembers, when the guerrillas were on their way to the war front in Rhodesia, they targeted the refugees from Rhodesia for food assistance. According to him, they asked for food from the refugees in their capacity as "*vana vekumusha* (fellow countrymen and women)."[88] When they were returning from the war front, as Junior remembers, the guerrillas came with goats from Rhodesia and asked the refugees to slaughter them on their behalf before sharing the meat proceeds with them.[89]

Another significant consequence of the convergence of different armed groups in Mozambican villages to the refugees was the forced movements they had to embark upon around 1978 and 1979. These forced movements saw the refugees moving in two different directions. One group, which included people like Monica Mudhibhisi, was forced to relocate to Manica town a space, which, according to her, was much safer than the chaotic and unpredictable situation by then sufficing in the Mozambican villages.[90] The other group was repatriated back to the Rhodesian keeps around 1978 and 1979. However, although both Roger MacDonald of the *Rhodesian Herald* and Alex Morrowsmith of *The Star* claimed that the repatriating refugees were fleeing Mozambique from FRELIMO induced problems and food inadequacies,[91] their sentiments were attempts to hide many problems underlying such repatriations. At most, by suggesting that the refugees had voluntarily repatriated to Rhodesia, the article was part of a broader ploy by Rhodesia and RSF to attempt humanitarianism with the hope of sprucing up the regime's image as pro its citizens. In fact, the correct position is that the article masked the conspirator role the RSF played in these repatriations. As stated above, when Junior's RENAMO son-in-law found out that FRELIMO was troubling his in-laws, a decision was made in RENAMO circles and probably in RSF, to relocate the family back to Keep 7 in Subchief Mandeya's area. The involvement of the

[88] Interview held with Tendai Jimu, Village Head Sipeya's area of Sub chief Mandeya, Mutasa District, 9 September 2017

[89] Junior Maboni, Interview

[90] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Headman Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 9 September 2017

[91] Roger McDonald, 'The Refugees Return: 'Horror' acts by Frelimo in Mozambique', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 31 March 1979. See also Alex Morrowsmith, 'Refugees back in Rhodesia' *The Star Africa Services,* 28 April 1979

organisations was revealed by Junior who recollected that when her family and two others, namely the Mutivho and Chari were repatriated, "they were escorted across the border by RENAMO soldiers while an RSF military plane hovered above them, purportedly providing aerial cover." Upon reaching Rhodesia, they were taken to Ruda Base Camp where they were welcomed by the RSF stationed there before a "buffalo was slaughtered for them."[92]

Whereas the testimonies of Junior, Monica and Tendai provide evidence of how the presence of military forces in spaces of refuge shaped the "every day social processes" of refugees who were in Mozambique, similar events also happened in Botswana. Just like in Mozambique where the convergences of guerrillas, RSF and FRELIMO occurred in spaces of refuge around 1976, the same events also started taking place in Botswana around the same year. According to *The Star*, in November 1976, the RSF crossed into Botswana and "took 10 African women back to Rhodesia." The concerned women had fled to "Botswana after the RSF had raided their village called Mambzi and arrested their husbands."[93] Within the same month, RSF operatives were reported to have crossed into Botswana where they kidnapped a 16-year Botswana boy by the name Disang Modiakgotla. According to a "statement that was released by the office of President Khama,"[94] the kidnapping of the boy was the third such incident that had happened in Botswana in seven days.

Although the magnitude of RSF confrontations with refugees in Botswana might have been on a smaller scale than in Mozambique, the RSF was nevertheless determined to compel the refugees to return home. As Tshlonipani Ncube remembers, in 1978, an aeroplane dropped pamphlets at Dukwe camp inscribed with the words "*Buyanini ekhaya* (come back home)." The refugees were forbidden by their commanders to pick up the pamphlets.[95] Whereas in Botswana the Rhodesians had used an almost peaceful approach to compel refugees to return, this was different to the approach they adopted with refugees who were in Mozambican villages. According to Peter Makureya, after 1978, the RSF embarked on a military operation where they were capturing people suspected to be refugees living in Mozambican villages.[96]

---

[92] Although Junior Maboni herself mentioned that a "*nyati*," buffalo in Shona was slaughtered for them, she might probably have confused this with a bull especially when given that buffalos are mostly found in National Parks areas. Mutasa District has no National Park. See, Junior Maboni, Interview

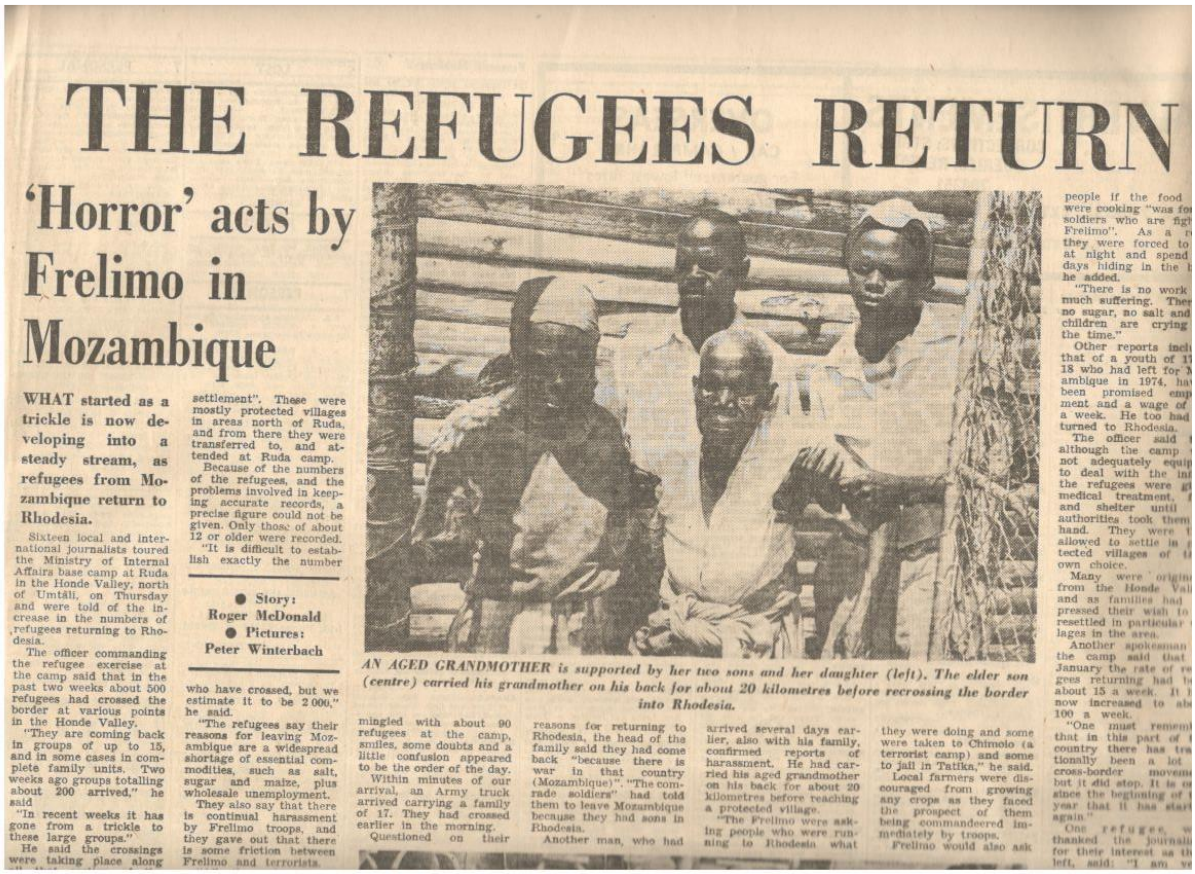
[93] The Star's Africa News Service, 'Women seized- claim', *The Star*, 13 November 1976

[94] Mail Africa Bureau, 'Rhodesians kidnap boy- Botswana', *Rand Daily Mail*, 27 November 1976

[95] Tshlonipani Ncube, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Madhlambudzi, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[96] Peter Makureya, Interview. For Peter Makureya, the Rhodesian forced repatriations were the initial reason that caused his move from Chief Makore's area, close to the border, to Chief Nyandiro, a bit further.

That operation, just like with the case of Disang Modiakgotla, resulted in many Mozambican nationals being captured as well. They were taken to Ruda Base Camp where they had to prove beyond reasonable doubt to the RSF authorities, that they were Mozambicans and not Rhodesians [97] (see pictures below).



THE REFUGEES RETURN

'Horror' acts by Frelimo in Mozambique

WHAT started as a trickle is now developing into a steady stream, as refugees from Mozambique return to Rhodesia.

Sixteen local and international journalists toured the Ministry of Internal Affairs base camp at Ruda in the Honde Valley, north of Umtali, on Thursday and were told of the increase in the numbers of refugees returning to Rhodesia.

The officer commanding the refugee exercise at the camp said that in the past two weeks about 500 refugees had crossed the border at various points in the Honde Valley.

"They are coming back in groups of up to 15, and in some cases in complete family units. Two weeks ago groups totalling about 200 arrived," he said.

"In recent weeks it has gone from a trickle to these large groups."

He said the crossings were taking place along settlement". These were mostly protected villages in areas north of Ruda, and from there they were transferred to, and attended at Ruda camp.

Because of the numbers of the refugees, and the problems involved in keeping accurate records, a precise figure could not be given. Only those of about 12 or older were recorded.

"It is difficult to establish exactly the number

● Story: Roger McDonald
● Pictures: Peter Winterbach

who have crossed, but we estimate it to be 2 000," he said.

"The refugees say their reasons for leaving Mozambique are a widespread shortage of essential commodities, such as salt, sugar and maize, plus wholesale unemployment.

They also say that there is continual harassment by Frelimo troops, and they gave out that there is some friction between Frelimo and terrorists

AN AGED GRANDMOTHER is supported by her two sons and her daughter (left). The elder son (centre) carried his grandmother on his back for about 20 kilometres before recrossing the border into Rhodesia.

mingled with about 90 refugees at the camp, smiles, some doubts and a little confusion appeared to be the order of the day.

Within minutes of our arrival, an Army truck arrived carrying a family of 17. They had crossed earlier in the morning.

Questioned on their reasons for returning to Rhodesia, the head of the family said they had come back "because there is war in that country (Mozambique)". "The comrade soldiers" had told them to leave Mozambique because they had sons in Rhodesia.

Another man, who had arrived several days earlier, also with his family, confirmed reports of harassment. He had carried his aged grandmother on his back for about 20 kilometres before reaching a protected village.

"The Frelimo were asking people who were running to Rhodesia what they were doing and some were taken to Chimoio (a terrorist camp) and some to jail in Tatika," he said.

Local farmers were discouraged from growing any crops as they faced the prospect of them being commandeered immediately by troops.

Frelimo would also ask

people if the food were cooking "was fo soldiers who are fig Frelimo". As a re they were forced to at night and spend days hiding in the b he added.

"There is no work much suffering. The no sugar, no salt and children are crying the time."

Other reports incl that of a youth of 1 18 who had left for M ambique in 1974, ha been promised emp ment and a wage of a week. He too had turned to Rhodesia.

The officer said although the camp not adequately equip to deal with the in the refugees were g medical treatment, and shelter until authorities took them hand. They were allowed to settle in tected villages of t own choice.

Many were origin from the Honde Val and as families had pressed their wish to resettled in particular lages in the area.

Another spokesman the camp said that January the rate of re gees returning had b about 15 a week. It now increased to ab 100 a week.

"One must remem that in this part of country there has tra tionally been a lot cross-border moveme but it did stop. It is o since the beginning of year that it has start again."

One refugee, w thanked the journali for their interest as th left, said: "I am w

[97] Peter Makureya, Interview

REFUGEES of all ages congregate at the camp. These boys are waiting to have their cases examined and to be resettled.

Photography 10. Repatriating refugees at Ruda, 1979. When read critically, the two photos reflect the broader history of 1978-1979 refugees' experiences in Mozambique. Source: National Archives of Zimbabwe

5.6 Conclusion

In his book, Ronald F Reid-Daly, then commander of the Rhodesian counter-insurgency unit the Selous Scouts, wrote:

> in this book, we now have the Selous Scouts account of what happened at Pungwe/Nyadzonya. We already knew what ZANLA and FRELIMO had set up for United Nations' consumption and we knew from Aga Khan's report what they believed….[98]

[98] R F Reid-Daly, *Pamwe Chete: The Legend of the Selous Scouts*, (Johannesburg and London: Covos Day Books, 1999), p. 240

Daly offers a Selous Scout counter narrative to the one for ZANLA and FRELIMO. However, just like with any other post Nyadzonia historical text, Daly elected to frame his argument by refuting ZANLA and FRELIMO accounts and forgetting Nyadzonia's initial construction as a refugee camp meant for refugees' habitation. Thus, for Daly, that existed were ZANLA/FRELIMO accounts and not those of refugees. This can be expanded to mean that the refugees did not exist in Daly's recollection of the events. Against this background, this chapter rewrote the histories of major historical occurrences of the anti-Rhodesia struggle period where refugees are invoked but their voices do not appear in such historical accounts. Through using narrative texts of those who experienced life as refugees, what emerged were multiple dimensions of refugee experiences. As the chapter has demonstrated, refugee histories were not only confined to the camps. Instead, there were many other spaces where refugees created interactive histories necessary for understanding the fuller history of the anti-Rhodesia struggles.

CHAPTER SIX

DEBATING REFUGEE ACCIDENTALISM: ISSUES IN REFUGEE EXPERIENCES OF BOTSWANA, MOZAMBIQUE AND ZAMBIA

6.0 Introduction

The priority of this study is to construct inclusive representations of liberation wartime refugees. Consequently, it is important to examine how they were regarded in Southern Africa, a region with countries that boast of having stronger solidarities with each other. The questions that arise are: in what form were such solidarities applied to Rhodesian refugees? What was the nature of such solidarity and what were its histories like? This chapter continues with the debate started in Chapter Five about the meaning of a refugee in a Southern Africa undergoing an era of liberation in the late 1970s. Building on a critique raised on Mozambique and the UNHCR's reluctance to deal with questions of proximity between guerrilla forces and refugees at Nyadzonia, I argue in this chapter that Nyadzonia experiences were not just a reflection of a poor discharge of refugee administration by Mozambique and UNHCR. Rather, they reflect part of a larger design that regarded issues of refugees' rights and protection as secondary to the need for liberators. As the chapter demonstrate, the manner in which southern African countries and the OAU dealt with refugees from Southern Rhodesia is best described by the term accidentalism, one that implies dealing with situations or events that occur unexpectedly.

As late as 1976, just like in the 1960s, Southern African refugees were still considered by independent Southern African countries and, to an extent, by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) as an accidental phenomenon. They were perceived as people who had suddenly appeared on the scene at a time when what was required were participants in the liberation of their respective countries. As a result, despite the expansion of the OAU's Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR) s' mandate to include aspects such as "legal assistance and refugees' resettlement,"[1] by 1976, there was no sign that such efforts were going to be applied on the ground. If the expanded BPEAR tenets had been applied on the ground, this could have seen more considerations of where to resettle refugees. In framing my argument on non-considerations of distance between the Rhodesian border and

[1] Joe Oloka-Onyango, 'The Place and Role of the OAU Bureau for Refugees in African Refuge Crisis', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 6. No. 1 (1994), pp. 34-52

the site of Nyadzonia refugee camp, I drew from Marina Sharpe's evaluative work on refugee protection in Africa in which she also criticised such non-considerations.[2] By 1976, issues of how and where to resettle refugees fleeing from the liberation war in Rhodesia had not been attended to by the OAU.[3] This was despite the fact that by that time, armed war was responsible for most Rhodesian refugee outflows. The contribution by armed war entailed a change in refugee circumstances of mid to late 1970s from those of 1960 and the early 1970s which had been influenced more by social factors. Nonetheless, we only begin to see the emergence of serious discussions on refugees' security concerns after the Nyadzonia attacks. Despite Nyadzonia opening up debate about Rhodesian refugees, questions still lingered on whose responsibility the refugees were and where they were supposed to be settled in relationship to guerrilla forces. In fact, contradictions on Rhodesian refugee responsibilities continued to characterise refugee discourse until the conclusion of the war in 1980. One such reflection of those contradictions was when ZAPU leaders apportioned refugee responsibility to the the British[4] whilst on the other hand, the Tanzanian President, Julius Nyerere was steadfast in arguing that African refugees were primarily an African problem and responsibility. [5]

This chapter discusses how the opinions of countries that hosted Rhodesian refugees contributed to shaping their experiences. The main argument is that despite functional differences in refugee hosting countries' refugee humanitarian regimes, the ultimate goal of independent Southern African countries, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia was to construct a political and military conscious subject out of refugees whilst giving little attention to their rights as refugees. This chapter addresses how this construction of a refugee as a political and military subject executed and in what way did such a construction impinged on the rights of the refugees. The chapter begins by examining the Botswana refugee regime before explaining how it was linked to that of Zambia. The post Nyadzonia Mozambican refugee regime will also be examined to explain how post Nyadzonia debates contributed

[2] Marina Sharpe, 'Organisation of African Union Engagement with Refugee Protection:1963-2011', *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2013), pp. 50-94

[3] ibid

[4] For ZAPU claim of British responsibility see, See, Projects Department of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU), 'The Zimbabwean Refugees in Southern Africa-A British responsibility.'

[5] On President Nyerere, see 'Arusha Pan African Congress on Refugees in Africa,' 28 May 1979

towards a shift from a recruit-centred refugee regime to one that later sought to prioritise refugee security matters. Issues of refugee rights remained largely obscured from the discussions. The chapter concludes that, although there were some late efforts to shift attitudes towards refugees, questions of accidentalism continued to trouble refugee discourse as the guerrilla and political actors strived to maintain a grip on refugee matters.

6.1 BOTSWANA AND THE QUESTION OF RHODESIAN REFUGEES

As discussed in the preceding chapter, Botswana has a longer history of dealing with refugees from Southern Africa during the colonial era than any other country in the region. In fact, as far as refugees from Rhodesia were concerned, Botswana's history of dealing with them dates back to the late 1950s when the country was still Bechuanaland Protectorate.[6]Despite this, it is important to note that during the era of liberation, refugees remained a secondary aspect to the colonial free Southern Africa envisaged by Botswana. This made execution of liberation wars in the 1970s, Botswana's main preoccupation rather than considerations of refuge seeking as a basic human right. Thus, for Botswana, when refugees were on its soil, they were not supposed to think of themselves as refugees but would be liberators. Therefore, Botswana made a lot of investments towards endeavours to transform refugees into liberation actors.

Although Botswana succeeded in operating within the framework of transforming refugees to liberation actors, it was not until November of 1976 that Rhodesia started to question such refugee practices by Botswana militarily.[7] Prior to that, Botswana had successfully propagated an image of a country that only restricted itself to aspects such as granting refuge to refugees, and providing safe passages for guerrilla recruits, political exiles and deserters from the Rhodesian army.[8] However, all this changed when the African National Congress (ANC) of Rhodesia's office in Francistown was bombed on 19th November 1976.[9] Although

[6] Neil Parsons, 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68', *Social Dynamics,* Vol. No. 1 (March 2008), pp. 17-32

[7] Christopher Munnion, 'Rhodesia denies bomb raid on Nkomo HQ' and Chris Reynolds, 'Bomb blast in Botswana ANC office'

[8] James MacManus, 'Botswana stays in the wings', *The Guardian*, 1 April 1976. See also The Herald Bureau, 'Botswana refuge for deserters', *The Rhodesian Herald*, 2 April 1976. In fact, the Herald Bureau article was actually quoted from James MacManus' report and it only substituted "guerrilla recruits for terrorist recruits."

[9] Chris Reynolds, 'Bomb Blast in Botswana ANC Office', *The Rhodesian Herald*, 20 November 1976

Rhodesia denied involvement,[10] the government of Botswana believed that Rhodesia was behind such bombings. This triggered a debate that not only put the question of refugees under the spotlight but also one whereby Botswana used the issue of refugees as cover for the guerrilla supportive roles they were rendering. One argument used by Botswana was that Rhodesia's actions had possibly been triggered by their refusal, the previous week, "to surrender school children who" had fled Rhodesia and "sought refuge" in Botswana.[11]

After the ANC offices bombing incident, Rhodesia continued to escalate their attacks, with Botswana itself continuing to use refugees as central to its argument of victimhood. One such physical confrontation between the RSF and Botswana forces was a "20 minutes clash" that took place near Francistown on the 20th December 1976. Consistent with Botswana's use of refugees as a mask for military confrontation Charles Tibone, a Deputy Secretary in the Botswana Cabinet, issued a statement that Rhodesia's intended target was the "transit camp for refugees from the Muzorewa faction of the ANC."[12] The debate continued until the end of 1976 when T.D Mogami, Botswana's representative to the UN, wrote to the UN Security Council complaining about Rhodesia's violations of Botswana territory.[13] The letter to the UN which quoted excerpts of a statement that its Vice President Masire had recently made, affirmed the same position that Botswana was always portraying to the world that its conflict with Rhodesia emanated from the refugees they were hosting. As Masire's argument cited in Tibone's letter categorically stated, Salisbury's actions had constituted a determination to "intimidate Botswana" from offering services that it has been giving to refugees from Rhodesia.[14] According to the statement's elaborations, "it has always been Botswana's policy to grant asylum to genuine political refugees from neighbouring countries, but not to permit Botswana to be used as a launch pad for attacks against neighbouring states."[15]

[10] Chris Reynolds, 'Bomb Blast in Botswana'

[11] 'Salisbury accused of causing explosion', *Guardian*, 20 November 1976. See also The Star's Africa News Service, 'Botswana blast hits Nkomo HQ', *The Star,* 20 November 1976

[12] Mosoabi Motseta, 'Botswana shoots back: Frontier tension erupts in gunfire', *Rand Daily Mail,* 20 December 1976

[13] Richard Walker, 'Urgent plea by Botswana at UN', *Rand Daily Mail*, 24 December 1976 and 'Botswana complains against aggressive acts by Rhodesia', *BBC World Services,* January 1977

[14] 'Botswana complains against aggressive acts by Rhodesia'

[15] Richard Walker, 'Urgent plea by Botswana at UN' and 'Botswana complains against aggressive acts by Rhodesia'

Although the above policy was one that Botswana propagated in the public sphere, the unsaid side was that they were more interested in the execution of the struggle in Rhodesia than offering refuge to Rhodesian refugees. In fact, what can be said about Botswana's policy was that refuge was just a facade that they used to avoid direct confrontations with Rhodesia when going about their main preoccupation which was to assist organisations in the struggle for Rhodesia with recruitments of guerrilla fighters. Using evidence of refugees' experiences after they had crossed the border into Botswana, the meaning of a refugee in Botswana existed only in name. As we will see, despite the problems with Rhodesia, Botswana did not create a space for refugees as in a refugee camp immediately. Refugees from Rhodesia continued to be transited to Zambia from Botswana. It was not until 1978 that Dukwi camp, a site that can be referred to as a proper space for refugees only was established.

We get glimpses into the manner in which Botswana shaped the meaning of a refugee through the lens of the activities of its traditional leaders, the *Kgosi* in Setswana language or *Indunas* as they were referred to in former refugee narratives as well as those of Makepisi (the one who wears cap hats) in the transit camps. The space of the transit camp from which refugees were transited to Zambia and the *flemachina*, the Dakota aircraft that was used in the transportation of refugees, completes this list of people and institutions where we get insights on how the Botswana processes of refugee conditioning functioned. In that regard, the *Kgosi or Indunas*, Makepisi, the refugee transit camps and the *flemachina* were the main actors in that theatre of Botswana's conditioning of Rhodesian refugees. A key influencing idea to such conditioning was that, in order for one to qualify as a refugee in Botswana, there was need for both political conscientization and aligning of concerned refugee individuals to one of the political organisations involved in the struggle for liberation in Rhodesia. However, as will be seen, such transitions were also central in shaping the refugees' political and military consciousness before reaching Zambia. Through the Botswana processes, upon reaching Zambia, the refugees would have already transited to other realms and thus an action which somehow jeopardised their status as refugees and thereby rendering such status questionable. Just like in Mozambique, apart from positioning refugees as resources for war, such lack of clear distinction between individuals prepared for subversion purposes in Rhodesia and those fleeing from the war's effects, contributed to Rhodesia's continuous attraction to spaces supposedly reserved for refugees.

6.2 REFUGEE CONDITIONING IN BOTSWANA

With regards to the above conditioning, it is important to note that its key characteristic was the treatment of everyone who set foot on Botswana soil as the same. In this case, those who were fleeing from the war, those intending to join the war and those abducted from Rhodesia were lumped together in one category namely, as followers of political organisations involved in the struggle for Rhodesia. As already stated, the successes of such conditioning processes were sustained by the *Kgosi* or *Indunas* whose areas of jurisdiction were located closer to the Botswana and Rhodesia border. The activities that took place in refugee transit camps as well as those of Makepisi, and the *flemachina* that transported the refugees to Zambia further strengthened the refugee conditioning belt. Although Dukwi camp was later established in 1978 as a proper refugee camp, these acts of conditioning continued to take place within that space. This was despite the minor incidences of defiance that took place. However, the manner in which these institutions operated in conditioning refugees produced a questionable definition of a refugee.

6.2.1 The Botswana Kgosi or Indunas and the Rhodesian refugees

Although Rhodesia only started questioning Botswana's unclear definition of a refugee militarily in 1976, what they were questioning was a refugee conditioning practice that had been on-going as far back as 1974. The traditional leaders whose areas of jurisdiction bordered Rhodesia were the starting point of the practices. For instance, when Malakibungu Nkomo crossed the border in 1974, he found borderland Botswana traditional leaders already playing a pivotal role in the process of refugee conditioning.[16] According to Malakibungu's reminiscences, when he crossed the border into Botswana, he was transported from Tutume to Francistown by a traditional leader.[17] On the other hand, later day refugees, Otilia Ndlovu, Temba Mali and Rudolph Moyo who skipped the border in 1977 and 1978 after Malakibungu, also remembered going through the same procedure. For instance, when Otilia

[16] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District, 25 August 2017

[17] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

crossed the border, she remembered being taken to a traditional leader named Changate.[18] She recalled:

> When we arrived at Changate, we found out that he had just left with others who were also going to join *empini* (war). The wife said, "it's his job you must wait for him…" When he returned, he asked if we had been given anything to eat. The wife said she had given us nothing. He then asked the wife to give us food that had been reserved for him. He later said he was going to take us there.[19]

Although it is not known whether the traditional leaders had been specifically tasked by the government of Botswana to ferry people coming from Rhodesia to Francistown or not, what is known is that after the enactment of the Botswana Chieftainship Act in 1966, traditional leaders in Botswana were reduced to positions of civil servants. They were therefore liable to carryout government orders.[20] According to David Jones, despite attempts by some chiefs to protest against such new policies, Botswana government ministers took every opportunity to remind them that the Chieftainship Act was clear that they were simply supposed to abide by government instructions. Any failure to comply was punishable by removal from office or suspension.[21] Thus, using Jones' observation, what is clear is that with respect to their interactions with refugees, chiefs were probably carrying out government orders. This means that their interest in the Rhodesian conflict was also influenced by their government's ideological inclination on events there.

We get more insights on connections between Botswana traditional leaders' interests in the Rhodesian war from the oral narrations of Temba Male's experiences after crossing into Botswana. When Temba and her colleague crossed the border after abduction as discussed in chapter four, they were taken to a Botswana *Kgosi* or *Induna* called Memwe. [22] Whilst at Memwe's place, it became clear [to Memwe] that the gunman had not only abducted the two girls but had also committed acts of murder in Rhodesia, and all Memwe could say was

[18] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District, 28 August 2017

[19] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview

[20] David S Jones, 'Traditional Authority and State Administration in Botswana', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol.21. No. 1 (March 1983), pp. 133-139. Accessed https://www.jstor.org/stable/160619 on the 25th of February 2019

[21] ibid

[22] Temba Male, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District, 28 August 2017

"you should have brought all of them [alive] here."[23] Thus, judging by Memwe's assertion that the gunman should have brought Temba, her colleague and the murdered Frank alive, it implied that he knew beforehand of the gunman's abduction mission in Rhodesia. The mere fact that the gunman reported his actions to Memwe projects him in his capacity as an *Induna* cum Botswana civil servant, into a principal actor in both Botswana's border crossing activities and the Rhodesian guerrilla warfare.

Despite the fact that Temba's case was one that warranted some kind of intervention that should have either seen Memwe facilitating her repatriation back to Rhodesia or guaranteeing her rights as a refugee, he nevertheless did nothing to reverse that situation. Instead, consistent with Botswana's unwritten policy to feed guerrilla ranks with recruits coupled with orders that could have been made to traditional leaders to facilitate such movements, Temba and her colleague were later transported to Francistown where, in line with Botswana policies of conditioning, they were asked to declare allegiance to either of "Nkomo's ZAPU" or Mugabe's ZANU."[24] In this case, the further transportation of Temba and her colleague to Francistown as opposed to repatriation to Rhodesia was coming from the background of previous expressions by the Botswana political leaders on their struggles in handling refugees. For instance, in 1976, just a year before Temba's abduction, the British Broadcasting Cooperation (BBC) had quoted President Khama at the official opening of Parliament in Gaborone saying, "His government's liberal policy towards refugees is beginning to cause a problem for the country." President Khama hoped that "international aid would soon be forthcoming" since his country "could no longer afford to care for the refugees."[25] President Khama's revelation was supposed to result in Temba's case being handled differently through an assisted repatriation to Rhodesia rather than to continue crowding the camps where refugees were already facing problems.

So deep were the problems in Botswana camps that Mary Tapelo remembers an occasion when the refugees went for two days without eating the staple *isitshwala* (thick porridge). In fact, the trends of refugee sufferings in Botswana camps were so widespread. For instance, according to Mary, when Dukwi was opened in 1978 the infrastructure there was very poor. There were no sanitation facilities to cater for the more than 4000 refugees, which led to fears

[23] Ibid

[24] Ibid,

[25] 'Botswana President on Refugee Problem and the Geneva Conference', *BBC Radio Report*, 27 February 1976

of an outbreak of a diarrhoea epidemic. Refugees had to be content with a daily diet of *isitshwala* prepared from yellow maize meal to which they were not accustomed.

In the case of Temba and her colleague, given the struggles refugees were facing in the camps, what seems to have been more plausible was to facilitate their return back to Rhodesia instead of stretching already overcrowded camps. Temba and her colleague had not faced any danger at home apart from the gunman who Memwe appeared to have been in control over. Due to Memwe's position as a civil servant, which required him to follow government instructions, Temba ended up in Francistown in a refugee camp where she had to choose a political organisation to affiliate with. On the other hand, Memwe's decision not to repatriate Temba to Rhodesia was also influenced by the need to avoid filtering out of information on what was happening inside Botswana to the Rhodesians and not for purposes of protecting her as an individual. However, broadly, for questions of historical representations of refugees, it was refugees with experiences such as Temba who were being included in comments that were later made on refugees by some international commentators who visited Botswana refugee transit camps. Jack Glattbatch was one such commentator who visited Francistown transit camp in 1978 and reckoned that "all refugees, even children arrive with an affiliation to one of the Zimbabwean political groups."[26] However, such observations were grossly impaired as they were ignorant of both the circumstances that had given rise to such supposed political party allegiances and the role played by the Botswana state.

That Botswana as a state was actively involved in the transformation of refugees is also evidenced by Victor Ncube's experiences. Unlike most refugees crossed the border either fleeing from Rhodesia or with intentions to join the war, Victor was on his way to look for work in what he referred to as "*esikhiweni*" in South Africa.[27] However, Victor was caught by Botswana police near Tutume and despite his appeals to the police to be allowed passage, he was promptly reminded that "*abantu bayale* [to Zambia] and not *le* [to South Africa] (people are going there to Zambia and not there to South Africa).[28] As such he was taken to Francistown to join other refugees awaiting shipment to Zambia. Botswana's denial of passage to Victor was probably to fulfil a United Nations and OAU embargo against movements to South Africa that had been passed at a UN and OAU gathering that took place

[26] Jack Glattbatch, *The Exodus from Zimbabwe,* (UNICEF)

[27] Victor Ncube, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[28] Ibid

in Oslo, Norway in 1973.[29] According to resolution number 65, migrations to South Africa were to be prohibited. On this, the resolution which was titled "Proposal for Action in regard to South Africa" emphatically stated:

> The flow of migrants should be stopped; States should prohibit special organisations from operating in their countries and prevent, or at least dissuade, their citizens from migrating to South Africa; trade unions should take special measures to prevent their members from migrating to South Africa.[30]

6.2.2 Makepisi's histories

Pursuant to the role of the *Kgosi* or *Indunas* described in the previous section, the refugees who passed through Botswana's Francistown and Selebi Pikwe camps also remember the political indoctrination activities of one Makepisi. In the refugee narratives, Makepisi appears to have been highly active in both Francistown and Pikwe in 1977 only to disappear from the same narratives around 1978 when a Canaan Ncube appears to have replaced him.[31] In terms of operation, Roy Ndlovu made a suggestion that Makepisi was acting alone as "he had no assistant."[32] On the other hand, other refugees who came across him referred to him as the superior of camp instructors, an indication that he was operating with others.[33]Despite narrative contradictions on his operation modes, Makepisi's presence amongst refugees can also be viewed within the same scope of the conditioning of refugees as well as the political and militarisation of spaces for refugees that took place on Botswana soil. For the refugees, most of them who passed through Pikwe remembered Makepisi as the person who presided over the military-like drills known as "number 6 and 9" whilst they were awaiting shipment to Zambia. Otilia Ndlovu, who identified Makepisi's real name as Jabulani Sibanda, remembered him as a "serious and tough"[34] individual who was deeply concerned with preparing refugees for the military tasks ahead in Zambia. Makepisi's dedication to the

[29] Olav Stokke and Carl Widstrand (eds), *The UN-OAU Conference on Southern Africa, Oslo 9-14 April 1973: Programme of Action and Conference Proceedings (Volume 1),* Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1973

[30] ibid

[31] Canaan Ncube appears in the narrative of Elias Moyo. See, Elias Moyo, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 27 August 2017

[32] Roy Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[33] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview, Manka Sibanda, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017 and Buyile Dube, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 25 August 2017

[34] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview

struggle and his work amongst refugees was also confirmed by Roy Ndlovu who remembered that on his first meeting with Makepisi, one of the toughest questions that he, Makepisi, posed to him was to describe a sell-out.[35]

That Makepisi represented the militarisation of refugee spaces in Botswana was also confirmed in the post-colony on 14th October 2018 when Cynthia Goba published an online story on the death of a war veteran [36] that invoked his legend. In explaining the biographical details of her subject, the fallen veteran Cde Jane Nyathi whose war name was Ntombikayise Mdluli, Goba's story also delved into issues that transpired in Botswana during the period of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. According to the article, "after completion of her primary education" Jane Nyathi "had joined the liberation war in 1977 through Botswana at Selebi-Phikwe Camp which was under the command of Cde Makepisi."[37]Goba's assertion of Selebi Pikwe as a camp of a military nature under the command of a military man, Makepisi, is problematic in that there is nowhere in Botswana government terminologies that Selebi Pikwe was ever referred to as a military camp. Goba's assertion, however, is important. It brings to light some of the usually unsaid facts about Botswana's refugee system whereby military men such as Makepisi had conducted military drills in spaces supposed to be for refugees.

In addition to the testimonies of the former refugees and Goba's 2018 recreation of Makepisi's activities, there are further insights about his work in Botswana in pro Rhodesia literature. The former commander of the RSF's branch of the Selous Scouts, Ron Daly, wrote about Makepisi's activities in Botswana and also his observations provide further confirmation about the nexus between the refugees and the military in Botswana camps. Although there are slight differences in Daly's account of Makepisi with that of Otilia in terms of his real name, Daly's account is important in that it posits Makepisi as an individual who had operated in Botswana, a country that professed a zero tolerance for the permanent stay of military men involved in the struggle for Rhodesia. However, whereas Otilia referred to Makepisi's real name as Jabulani Sibanda, Daly referred to him as Makapesi Tshuma, the

[35] Roy Ndlovu, Interview

[36] Cynthia Goba, 'Sad News: War Veteran dies', *Sunday News*, 14 October 2018. Downloaded from https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/33332-sad-news-war-veteran-dies.html?fbclid=IwAR3SuFsOVWzP8N4IbgJby_RqCjjdUguGFrtlLoM_OM7vKqZ5qyXzBewdW3s

[37] ibid

ZIPRA overall commander for the Southern Sector.[38] According to Daly, Makapesi Tshuma alias Makepisi together with the entire ZAPU command structure in Botswana were later captured in1978 by members of the Selous Scouts masquerading as details of the Botswana Defence Forces (BDF).[39]

6.2.3 Francistown, Selebi Pikwe transit camps and Dukwi refugee camp narratives

Another important to create understandings of how refugees had to forego their statuses as refugees is through following the narratives of how they experienced life in Botswana transit camps and later Dukwi refugee camp upon its establishment in 1978. Although the first insight about life in Botswana camps being of a military nature was the number 6 and 9 training exercises that took place in the mornings as described in the previous section, there were also other things that took place in the camps that reflected militarised environments. For instance, according to Nelly Tapelo who had arrived in Botswana in 1977 and went on to stay at Francistown camp for six months before being transferred to Selebi Pikwe and thereafter Dukwe refugee camp, in addition to number 6 and 9 activities, the refugees were sometimes made to "run after an invisible animal whilst shouting the war cry, *hau hau*."[40] To the refugees, camp life hardships enhanced by what seems to have been a tough training regime were further exacerbated by requirements for the inmates to adhere to a strict code of conduct. We get clues about the strictness of the code of conduct in Botswana refugee transit camps in the following exchange between Senzeni Khumalo and Nelly Tapelo:

> *Was there any other name that you were referred to in the Botswana camps?*
> Everyone was referred to as comrade. We were required to refer to each other as comrade.
> *Were there any people who were giving you trouble at the camp?*
> In the camps? No. There was no one.
> *What about love affairs and marriages? Did they take place in the camp?*
> In the camp men and women were separated. The rules were strict. Even your own brother you were not supposed to talk to him without first seeking permission. There was no time to fall in love with anyone there.
> *Were there any kids who were born in the camp?*
> In Francistown? No. Me I stayed in three camps in Botswana. I never witnessed that.
> *When you left Francistown, which other camps did you stay in?*
> After I had left Francistown, I went to Selebi Pikwe where there was the *flemachina* that took people to Zambia.

[38] Ron Daly, R F Reid-Daly, *Pamwe Chete: The Legend of the Selous Scouts* p 420

[39] Ron Daly, R F Reid-Daly, *Pamwe Chete: The Legend of the Selous Scouts* p 423

[40] Nelly Tapelo, Interview, Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 24 August 2017

How long did you stay at Selebi Pikwe?
Almost a year.
How was life at Selebi Pikwe in comparison to Francistown?
Selebi Pikwe was a much larger camp than Francistown and the strictness of the laws there was worse and we even thought that going back home [to Rhodesia] was better.[41]

That there was a tendency to limit refugees' freedoms in Botswana refugee transit camps was also evident even in spaces such as hospitals during occasions when some of the refugees visited them during sicknesses. Ranger writing on behalf of the Zimbabwe Medical Aid (ZIMA), an organisation that was concerned with sourcing and supplying of medical drugs to the refugee camps, stated that refugees who sought medication at the hospital in Francistown went there as "additional outpatients,"[42] Ranger, however, missed out how such a scenario was prearranged rather than being reflective of refugees always requiring outpatient services. For instance, Otilia Ndlovu was one such refugee who fell sick whilst at Francistown camp and managed to shed light on what happened to such refugees. As she explained, hospitalisation, even in circumstances where it was required, was not permitted for refugees.[43] This was done to prevent refugees from running away and thus confirming the space of the refugee camp as a militarised one. Otilia revealed why hospitalisation was prohibited in her conversation with Senzeni Khumalo:

When you were staying in Francistown, how was your life like?
It was right. But when I was in Francistown, I got sick from malaria.
You told me that you only stayed for a day in prison at Francistown. So how did you get the malaria?
We were bitten a lot by mosquitos in that prison
So, what happened to you?
They took me to the hospital at Nyangagwe.
For how long did you stay at Nyangagwe?
I only went there, got treated and came back since it was not allowed for one to be hospitalised. I went at 3pm in the afternoon and came back. I went back there again for three consecutive days. We will be taken by a car to the hospital and back.
Why was admittance not allowed? Were you not seriously ill?
What was happening was that when people got hospitalised, those who would have been disillusioned with camp life will take that opportunity to run away from the hospital.
Running away from the hospital!

[41] Nelly Tapelo, Interview

[42] Terrence Ranger, Zimbabwe Medical Aid: Report by T.O. Ranger on Interview with District Commissioner A.B. Masalila, P. Bag 34, Francistown Botswana, Unpublished report, NAZ Records, File MS 308/29/4

[43] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview

> Running away from the hospital and return back home [to Rhodesia]. So, they were saying if you go back home and if the [Rhodesian] soldiers or police catch you, they will ask you to reveal everything that was happening in the camps.[44]

Although the strict code of conduct that prevailed in transit camps can be accepted especially when considering that people who were in those camps had different reasons for fleeing from Rhodesia, one would have expected a complete relaxation of such laws when some refugees were relocated to Dukwi in 1978. This is because when Dukwi appeared on the refugee scene, it was supposed to operate differently to the transit camps of Francistown and Selebi Pikwe. The reason for such expectations lies in how the idea of a refugee camp at Dukwi was initially conceived. Although there are different versions on how Dukwi was founded, including the official one from Botswana government circles as well as in Zetterqvist's work, the camp was directly linked to the events that were happening in Zambia around 1978. Around that time, the Rhodesians intensified surveillances and attacks on camps that were in Zambia. In doing so, the Rhodesians might have been aided by informants who had sneaked into Zambia under the guise of refugees. Buyile Dube's narrative which stated that people who went to Zambia in 1978 and thereafter suggested, loyalty was one of the requirements for the refugees cum recruits.[45] Thus, in this case, Dukwi might have emerged as a camp to cater for excess refugees who were no longer required in Zambia or who were suspected of being disloyal. This observation differs from that of Zetterqvist who wrote that Dukwi was founded to cater for refugees who were unwilling to proceed to Zambia to join the war.[46] In disregarding Zetterqvist's observation, it is important to note that once the refugees got into the transit camps of Francistown or Selebi Pikwe, they automatically relinquished any decision making power on whether to proceed to Zambia or not. Those powers were now vested in the guerrilla camp commanders like Makepisi who also represented political organisations involved in the struggle for Rhodesia. It was these commanders who made decisions on which refugees were to proceed to Zambia and which ones were to remain behind. This leaves the Botswana government's version which states that Dukwi was founded as refugee camp by the Botswana government with assistance from the World Lutheran Federation (WLF) as the correct interpretation of how the camp had come into

[44] Nelly Tapelo, Interview

[45] Buyile Dube, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 25 August 2017

[46] Jenny Zetterqvist, *Refugees in Botswana in light of International Law (Report number 87),* Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1990

existence. What was omitted in such an interpretation was how this idea might have been influenced by the need to stop spies from infiltrating ZIPRA and ZAPU in Zambia under the guise of refugees.

Despite what might appear as contradictions in Dukwi's conception, what is clear is that it was supposed to be a camp whose inhabitants were no longer going to join the guerrilla movements or to be involved in mainstream politics on the proceedings in Rhodesia. This means that Dukwi was a proper refugee camp. However, despite being a proper refugee camp, traces of militarised conditions persisted in that space. The only differences were on the individuals who were running the camps and also on a coterie of freedoms that were now accorded to the refugees. As Elias Moyo narrated, at Dukwi, the refugees were now allowed a 7 km radius freedom of movement from the camp.[47] The same also applied to the continuation of religious activities which, according to Godha Ndlovu, had been permitted at both Francistown and Selebi Pikwe camps. According to Ndlovu, at Francistown and Selebi Pikwe, he was the only person granted permission by the ZAPU leadership, presumably under the leadership of Makepisi, to conduct Christian religious prayers "every morning before sunrise and at dawn in the evening."[48]

Although the freedom of refugee movement was a positive move especially with regards to conforming to the dictates of the UN charter for refugees, this did not entail a complete erasure of military like control systems in the camp. Whereas at Francistown and Selebi Pikwe it was Makepisi who had exercised such control, at Dukwi the names that appear in the refugees' narratives as camp commanders, were that of a certain Tshabangu and a Marata.[49] The presence of these two as commanders in the space of a refugee camp can also be interpreted as a continuation of the same system that had prevailed at Francistown and Selebi Pikwe. Another indicator that showed Dukwi's struggles between being a refugee camp and a militarised space was that of the parades which took place daily in the mornings. Hlonipani Ncube remembers the parade gatherings for the sole reason that they were the "times when the local people always found opportunities to sneak into the refugees' huts and steal their food" when they were distracted by the parades.[50]

[47] On distances refugees were allowed to move around, see, Elias Moyo, Interview

[48] Godha Ndlovu, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 24 August 2017

[49] Tshlonipani Ncube, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[50] Tshlonipani Ncube, Interview

Despite tendencies to instil discipline among the refugee inmates, such endeavours were not always successful. Some of the refugees circumvented those rules and engaged in some of the things prohibited by their commanders. Elias Moyo was one such refugee who managed to break the strict rules by having a love affair with a fellow refugee woman, S.[51]According to Elias, he managed to keep his relationship a secret by making sure that S snuck into his hut in the middle of the night undetected. For Elias, his only fear was S falling pregnant, as it could have led to culprit identification investigations that would have exposed him.[52]

6.2.4 The Flemachina

Refugees' experiences would be incomplete without mentioning the role played by the plane used to transport them from Botswana to Zambia. The aeroplane or the *flemachina* as it came to be constituted in most refugee narrations, was not just a mode of transport that transported the refugees from Botswana to Zambia. It was at the centre of defining the meaning of a refugee in both Botswana as a country and in the on-going liberation war in Rhodesia. Later in its history, the refugees' *flemachina* became the site from which discussions about which refugees were to be included and excluded from Zambian refugee camps were conducted. In order to understand how a physical object like an aeroplane, came to be important in defining humanly subjects, what is required is to follow Kopytoff's example and construct a biography of the aeroplane in the history of the struggle against white rule in southern Africa.

The biography of things, as Kopytoff argued, "can make salient what otherwise" was supposed to "remain obscure[d]."[53] As a result we derive more knowledge about the meaning of refugee through analysing the trends of how the aeroplane was used in refugee matters. In terms of its detailed biography, just like Botswana which has a long history of dealing with southern African refugees, the aeroplane that oversaw the movement of the refugees from Botswana to other independent countries has a long history. As early as 1961 when Botswana was still the Bechuanaland Protectorate, what became the *flemachina* to the refugees of the late 1970s era was already being used to transport refugees from white ruled southern Africa

[51] Real name deliberately omitted to protect the individual since she was not a participant in this study. Her name only came out from the interview

[52] Elias Moyo, Interview

[53] Igor Kopytoff, The Cultural Biography of things: Commoditization as a process in Igor Kopytoff (eds) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1986, pp. 64-91

northwards.[54] According to Parsons' observations, one such plane that was used to ferry refugees northwards to Tanganyika for purposes of participating in their respective countries' liberation struggles was a charter DC3 plane that was owned by the East African Airways (EAA).[55]That EAA plane was unfortunately blown apart at Francistown airport allegedly by culprits who were never apprehended.[56] The same disruptive challenges on planes ferrying refugees from Botswana to Zambia were encountered in 1977 when charter companies that were providing the service to ZAPU were forced to pull out after the *Rand Daily Mail* had reported their activities.[57]

Regardless of the flight disruptions, by 1977, instead of just being another mode of transport for refugee uses, the aeroplane had become both an object of amusement and a definer of what was expected of refugees by the liberation organisation of ZAPU specifically. Firstly, unlike the 1960s planes which had ferried the refugees from Francistown, ZAPU's charter planes did so from Selebi Pikwe.[58] As such, according to most refugees' narrations, transfers from Francistown camp to Selebi Pikwe were viewed as moments that brought them closer to the *flemachina*. In this case, there was excitement among refugees brought about by the hope to board the *flemachina* for the first time.

Although from 1974, the time when refugees like Malakibungu Nkomo had crossed into Botswana to around 1977, boarding the *flemachina* was something that was always guaranteed, by 1978 such situation had changed. Firstly, preferences weregiven to those who were seen as physically prepared for the military tasks ahead in Zambia. It was for this reason that refugees like Godha Ndlovu who had arrived in Botswana in 1975 and Nelly Tapelo who spent almost a year at Selebi Pikwe never made it to Zambia. This was different from others like Roy Ndlovu who spent only a few days in Botswana before proceeding to Zambia. However, later, as Buyile Ndlovu indicated, being fit for military tasks was gradually erased by loyalty. What emerged was that the *flemachina* assumed a new role as the object which was used to include and exclude the refugees from passage to Zambia. By being a space where discussions about exclusions of sell outs or disloyal refugees were discussed, the role

[54] Neil Parsons 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68'

[55] Neil Parsons 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68'

[56] Neil Parsons 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956-68'

[57] Terrence Ranger, 'Summary Report'

[58] 22 of the interview participants in Bulilima all stated that the flemachina was at Pikwe

played by the *flemachina* in Botswana was different from the situation that persisted in Mozambique whereby the *Seguranzas* were to flush out supposed sell outs or would be saboteurs. According to Faith Mutamiswa[59] and Marian Tsoro,[60] in Mozambique, the *Seguranzas*, who were members of ZANLA's internal security organ were used to interrogate new arrivals to the camps.

6.3 REFUGEE MEMORIES OF LIFE IN ZAMBIAN CAMPS

Unlike in Botswana where all the refugees were in a single space that was only divided according to gender, the situation in Zambian camps was different. In Zambia, male and female refugees were accommodated in different camps that were also situated in different locations. Male refugees were settled in camps such as Nampundu, Freedom, Mayeba and JZ camps. Through time, and through Rhodesian bombardments, JZ for example evolved into JZ 1, JZ 2 and JZ 3.[61] What happened was that each time a JZ camp was bombed, another JZ camp emerged in another location to replace the bombed one in an ascending numerical order. On the other hand, the female refugees were housed at Mkushi and Victory Camps (VC). Both these female and male camps were located near Lusaka, the Zambian capital. According to the narratives of Temba Male and Malakibungu Nkomo, there were two more camps where some of the refugees were transferred to during the course of their stay in Zambia. These two camps were located near Kafue and Solwezi. Women who had just given birth in the refugee camps were taken to Kafue river camp. According to Temba, the idea to take these refugees to Kafue was to enable them to undergo a secretarial training course under the leadership of Ruth Nyamurowa, a ZAPU nationalist.[62] The Solwezi camp which was located near the then Zaire, now the Democratic Republic of Congo, was specifically for males.

Although the external outlook of the above camps was that they were for refugees, a surgical diagnosis of how refugees experienced life inside those camps reveals that there were limited considerations of the camp inhabitants' status as refugees. Through taking an analysis of both

[59] Faith Mutamiswa, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Samanga's area, Mutasa District, 7 September 2016

[60] Marian Tsoro, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Chiku Village, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, 9 September 2017

[61] 17 of the 23 participants in this study resided in these camps

[62] Temba Male, Interview

the language that was used in those camps as well as how the camps were conceptualised, what emerges is that the camps were more military rather than refugee ones. Malakibungu, for example, spent most of his time in Zambia moving from one camp to another and remembers mild protests being responded to in military like language. During his time at Solwezi Camp, Malakibungu remembers that they were fed a meal of "a bun in the morning and a cup of soup in the evening."[63] When they complained about the dietary limitations in the camp, the language that was used to silence them was less considerate of what should have been refugee statuses. As he remembers, they were promptly reminded that "*lapha wabuya wedwa empini* (you voluntarily came here alone to join the war)."[64] So bad was the situation at Solwezi camp that. according to Malakibungu, the refugees had to resort to wild plants for survival. As he remembered:

> We will observe the plant species that were favoured by wild animals. After that we also know that that those plants species were also edible to humans since the wild animals were not being affected after consuming them.[65]

The use of military language as a tool to deal with forms of dissent among refugees was not only limited to the males. Upon her arrival at VC, a camp which was specifically reserved for women, Senzeni Nyathi remembers usage of similar language in warnings dished out to refugees against disciplinary breaches. Just after Senzeni's arrival at the camp, they were given strict laws to adhere to. In the midst of those instructions, the commanders were very clear in reminding the young women:

> You must remember that you came here alone. You left your mother alone. You are now in Zambia. If you misbehave, you will be punished thoroughly. You left your mother there in the village.[66]

Otilia Ndlovu remembers similar language being used to remind the refugees that they were in a war situation after they had tried to complain against a daily diet of what Temba had referred to as "badly undercooked beans" that was used as relish to the thick porridge that was being used to feed them at VC. Otilia Ndlovu also revealed more on such experiences to Senzeni Khumalo in the following dialogue:

> *How many meals did you have per day?*
> Two

[63] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

[64] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

[65] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

[66] Senzeni Nyathi, Interview

And the relish?
It was mostly beans
Where did you get the beans from?
From other countries and they were delivered by trucks
But when you ate that every day, didn't you suffer from running stomach?
A lot of people suffered. You could see people running.
Did you have toilets?
Yes, we did. We made them ourselves
How did you make them?
By digging holes. The problem was that we were too many. So, it was hard for us to make use of the toilet at one time. So, others started to mess themselves soon after leaving their tents before reaching the toilet.
So, what did your commanders say about that problem?
They will tell you that it is edible (the beans) and that we must remember that we were at war and not at home.[67]

Although the camp commanders might have been right to remind the refugees that they were in a war situation, what might have been wrong was to assert that all the refugees had volunteered to join the camps on their own especially given the circumstances in which refugees like Temba had initially left home.

Apart from language, the manner in which the camp system in Zambia was both arranged and functioned represented more military characteristics than refugees. Firstly, most of the camps, except those named after places such as Nampundu, Solwezi and Kafue, had names whose central theme was freedom or the desire to prevail in war. JZ camp took its name from the initials of Jason Ziyaphapha Moyo, the ZAPU vice president killed by a parcel bomb in 1977. Secondly, just like what happened with the guerrillas who adopted *nom de guerre* to disguise themselves as a way of protecting their relations still in Rhodesia against RSF victimisation, the refugees in Zambian camps were also obliged to adopt similar names. Thus, in Zambia, Otilia Ndlovu for example became Pamela Nhlupekho while Buyile Dube was Siza Mguni. Upon arrival at their respective camps, the refugees were also assigned to different companies that were led by commanders. Furthermore, just like the situation that had prevailed at Francistown and Selebi Pikwe where Makepisi had coordinated military like trainings, the same took place in Zambian camps. In addition to the number 6 and 9 trainings that took place in Botswana, some of the refugees like Roy Ndlovu, Victor Ncube and Otilia Ndlovu were introduced to gun operating methods.

[67] Otilia Ndlovu, Interview

Although living under military like conditions can be read as an infringement to refugees' rights, there were also some positive attributes that can be drawn from the manner in which refugees' lives were managed in Zambian camps. Just as Nare and Chung observed, the education of the refugee was one such positive attribute that took place in camps in both Zambia and Mozambique. In Zambia for instance, according to Temba, the development of the education system commenced around 1978 when refugees like herself who had attained either a form 2 level of education or above in Rhodesia were recalled from Kafue to VC to start work as refugee teachers.[68] This gave refugees an opportunity to go back to school.

According to Christopher Nyoni, the schools' curriculum in refugee camps was modelled along the Zambian education system. Refugee school children also participated in sporting competitions with other Zambian schools and there were other activities that took place in the camps such as musical groups. Christopher remembers being a member of one of those musical groups whose main highlight was the composition of a song that paid tribute to the Frontline States of Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique that hosted people who had fled Rhodesia. The lyrics of the song were:

> Away, away, away to Zimbabwe.
> Away, away, away to Zimbabwe.
> We shall never forget you people of Zambia.
> We shall never forget you people of Botswana.
> We shall never forget you people of Mozambique.
> Away, away, away to Zimbabwe.
> Away, away, away, to Zimbabwe.[69]

Although education system and other extra curriculum activities that took place in the camps were positive developments, education as an idea in the camps was superimposed on the initial one, military activities. As such, education continued to play a second fiddle to military needs. This was evidenced by the refugees attending classes after having undergone thorough military-like drills in the mornings. This lack of a break between operating as pure refugee space and military training led the Rhodesian Selous Scouts who were carrying out surveillances on the camps to confirm their suspicions. This subsequently led to bombings of most of the camps in Zambia. According to the refugees, only VC was spared from Rhodesian bombardments.[70]

---

[68] Temba Mali, Interview

[69] Christopher Nyoni, Interview

[70] Buyile Dube, Interview

Similar to the Nyadzonia case, the Rhodesian attacks on refugee camps in Zambia resulted in a war of words between ZAPU, Zambia and the Rhodesians.[71] As with Nyadzonia, ZAPU accused the Rhodesians of having attacked camps with "young and old refugees."[72] The irony with the problem in Zambia was the manner in which these refugees had ended up there. As most of the refugees' narratives alluded to, most of the refugees that reached Zambia were aware of their transition from refugee statuses to military ones. Such transitions, as we have seen, had roots in Botswana's practices of refugee conditioning. Ultimately, just as Rhodesia was guilty of carrying out the attacks, the refugee host countries were equally complicit in failing to craft clear delineating lines between the refugees and the military actors.

6.4 THE ROLE OF THE NYADZONIA ATTACKS IN THE POST 1976 SHIFTS IN REFUGEE PRACTICES

The post 1976 events were a moment of reckoning for the principal Southern African countries that hosted refugees from Rhodesia such as Mozambique, Botswana and Zambia. Despite accusing Rhodesia for its repressiveness, it was clear, first to Mozambique and later to Botswana, that there was need to have some kind of a distinction between refugees and military actors. In Mozambique, such a rethinking took place only a few days after the Nyadzonia attacks. In Botswana it was only in 1978 that the idea of a refugee transit camp was replaced by that of a refugee camp.[73] This took place some two years after altercations with Rhodesia had begun.

While it is unclear why Botswana took longer to redefine its refugee administration amidst Rhodesian aggression, two reasons could have been behind this stance. Firstly, Botswana reported Rhodesia to the UN Security council, as such, it hoped that the possibilities of the UN sending a Peace keeping Force was going to deter Rhodesian acts of aggression.[74] On the other hand, amidst Rhodesian aggression, the Soviet Union proposed to offer direct military

[71] Department for Research and Information of Z.A.P.U

[72] Department for Research and Information of Z.A.P.U

[73] The first refugee camp in Botswana, Dukwi was created in 1978. See, Melita Sunjic, 'Feature: Botswana camp captures history of Southern Africa', *UNICEF*, 16 February 2004. Accessed from http://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2004/2/403107e84/feature-botswana-camp-captures-history-southern-africa.html

[74] Margaret Smith, 'Botswana hopes for UN peace force', *Sunday Times*, 26 December 1976

assistance to Botswana to fend off such aggression.[75] Because of these promises for support, Botswana knew about Rhodesia's unpreparedness to face either a UN peacekeeping force or the Soviets and, hence, the reluctance to change their refugee practices. Thus, Botswana continued to assist the political organisations in the struggle for Rhodesia with military recruits under the guise of refugees in the same manner that it had done. This only changed in 1978 when Dukwi was established with the help of the Lutheran World Federation[76] as discussed in the previous sections.

Mozambique took a different route from that taken by Botswana. Unlike in Botswana, there is no record of Mozambican authorities contemplating to report Rhodesia to the UN or to seek direct Soviet help. In any case, the Soviet issue was out of consideration especially given the animosity that existed between the Soviets and ZANU.[77] In fact, to the Mozambican refugee governing authorities, after Nyadzonia, what came to their minds was that refugees were supposed to have a safe space of their own. However, it should be recognised that when Mozambique declared that refugees required a space of their own,[78] this was not necessarily a new idea. In fact, just like Botswana, Mozambique's preoccupation with the progress of the liberation war in Rhodesia had led them to ignore implementing proper refugee resettlement programs as recommended by the OAU Refugees Convention that had been promulgated in 1969. We find hints, though debatable, that Mozambique might have knowledge of what was involved in refugees' proper treatment through the experiences of one Clare Mostyn. Clare was a 13-year-old white girl who was reported to have wandered into Mozambique in June 1976.[79] After repatriation back to Rhodesia by FRELIMO, Clare reported that she had been treated well by FRELIMO during a two-and-a-half-day ordeal in Mozambique. According to her, the FRELIMO commander who took her into his custody even promised her that "if she didn't want to return to Rhodesia, FRELIMO would send her to school in Maputo and then she could go overseas."[80] She was also told that Mozambican policy did not allow "people over the age of 16 who entered Mozambique to return to the

[75] Christopher Munnion, 'Russian help considered by Botswana', *The Telegraph,* 21 December 1976

[76] Melita Sunjic, 'Feature: Botswana camp captures history of Southern Africa

[77] Edgar Tekere for example documented how such animosities were exposed during the Rhodesian onslaughts of Chimoio camp. See, Edgar Tekere, and Ibbo Mandaza, *Edgar "2 Boy" Zivanai Tekere: A Lifetime of a Struggle,* p. 104

[78] Ronia Samushonga, Interview and Jane Mharapara, Interview

[79] 'Clare safe after her 'adventure' with Frelimo', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 3 June 1976

[80] ibid

countries they had left."[81] Thus, if the Clare figure did exist and if FRELIMO did inform her that they were going to provide her with proper education then it means they were also privy to knowledge about minimum refugee treatment requirements.

Despite the above problems with refugee priorities, what seems clear is that the fatal events at Nyadzonia played a decisive role in the prioritisation of refugee resettlement needs that then followed. For instance, one key area in which FRELIMO started to stamp its authority was the making of Doroi refugee camp a space entirely for refugee purposes free of trained military personnel. Weston Samushonga explained the changes in our interview:

> *Was Doroi a camp for refugees only?*
> Yes
> *Were there no freedom fighters there?*
> They used to come but they were not staying there. They will come and go. They will come to visit us as their parents since there it was much freer. They will come and go as they wish. They were staying at Chimoio.[82]

Although writers such as Munguambe claimed that by 1979, FRELIMO had ceded refugees' authority to ZANU such assertions are, however, not correct. Instead, just as the narratives of people like Samushonga suggest, FRELIMO were now more concerned with the separation of guerrillas from refugees. As the report that was written by the ZANU Chief Education Officer to the Education and Culture authorities of the same party suggests, FRELIMO's refugees' assertive behaviour infuriated ZANU functionaries. In writing the report, the Chief Education Officer explicitly stated:

> All our schools are administered by Zanu members who in most cases work in coordination with the Frelimo Camp Administration. Our administration finds difficulties in running their schools effectively owing to their being subordinate to the camaradas. Communication is made difficult in some of our education centres by the people who claim to control the movement of trained personnel in refugee centres. In the past year namely 1978, all trained instructors we had deployed to teach or administer to some schools in the refugee camps were sent away, leaving the school being run by people with less knowledge about the Party line, for example, Doeroi school which has over 3000 youths has one trained teacher, the same applies to Chibabava, which has 2735 pupils without military trained instructors. The above point needs serious attention if the youths are to acquire all revolutionary knowledge to the full. A sound strategy should be found to get rid of the issue.[83]

[81] ibid

[82] Weston Samushonga, Interview

[83] ZIMFEP, *Schools in the Struggle* (Harare: ZIMFEP, 1991), p.66

Indeed, that after Nyadzonia, Mozambique started to consider refugees' issues seriously is also evidenced by how the FRELIMO government started to prioritise them. For instance, when the National Directorate for Animal Husbandry killed about 4000 buffaloes in Mozambique's Sofala province, refugees were cited as one of the primary priority areas where the meat proceeds were to be distributed. Refugees were placed in the same priority category as "the People's Forces and the Ministry of Education and Culture."[84] The events of Nyadzonia somehow managed to change perceptions on refugees. The only problem that remained was that of political organisations in the struggle for Rhodesia wanting to maintain a grip on refugee affairs.

6.4.1 Guerrilla organisations quest for continued control of refugees and implications

A positive thing to emerge out of the negative developments at Nyadzonia and other sites in both Mozambique and Zambia was that refugee hosting countries started to move away from considering refugees as accidental. Instead, as we have seen in the previous section, they started to regard them critically. This shift was in line with Statement Number 4 of the Preamble of the OAU Convention on Refugees in which the organisation made it clear that it was "Anxious to make a distinction between a refugee who seeks a peaceful and normal life and a person fleeing his country for the sole purpose of fomenting subversion from outside."[85] Although this was the endeavour of refugee host countries in post Nyadzonia, it seems the organisations in the struggle for Rhodesia were not entirely in favour of such new developments. Instead, they wanted to maintain a grip on refugee affairs. The main reason why these organisations wanted to maintain such a status quo was because refugees were indirectly funding the liberation struggle through humanitarian aid that was extended to them by global organisations. As Ronia Samushonga's recollections suggest, when representatives of humanitarian organisations visited the camps, the refugees were instructed by "their leaders to wear shabby clothes."[86] They did this in order to present a sense of refugee sufferings to the humanitarian aid people, an indirect way of appealing for more aid. Upon donation of the aid, some of it was then channelled to guerrilla camps. As a result, this led to guerrilla organisations wanting to maintain a permanent control of refugees. ZANU was one

[84] BBC News, 19 December 1977, (NAZ File MS 308/31/4)

[85] OAU Convention Governing Refugee Problems in Africa. Adopted on the 10th of September 1969 by the Heads of State and Governments. Cab/Leg/24.3. Entered into force on the 3rd of June 1974

[86] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

such organisation which did not hide its feelings against losing control of refugees. At the Pan African Congress that took place in Arusha Tanzania, a ZANU delegate in attendance urged non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to refrain from dealing with individual refugees, especially those who lived in urban areas. Instead, he advised the NGOs to conduct any business with refugees through the liberation movements. In presenting his argument, the ZANU delegate noted:

> There was at present a habit among certain church organisations to offer scholarships to individual refugees who, on completion of their studies, became hostile to the liberation cause in Southern Africa[87]

Although the ZANU delegate might have been right in discussing the need to preserve the ideals of liberation, such behaviour also impinged on the rights of individual refugees and had direct implications for refugee freedoms. Such behaviour was also inconsistent with the OAU's endeavour to make distinctions between refugees and those who would have made a choice to participate in the struggle.

Such non-considerations of refugee statuses by liberation movements soon created problems for them as global organisations and other commentators started carrying out investigations on what was happening in the camps. According to Christopher Nyoni's recollections, "journalists used to come to Zambian based camps to investigate whether the people in those camps were children and genuine refugees or not."[88]Some organisations also started to issue rebukes concerning the proceedings inside the camps. One such organisation was the International Centre for the Red Cross (ICRC). Of particular concern to the ICRC was the need to separate "civilian establishments, particularly refugee camps, from military installations."[89] Above all, by 1979, the same humanitarian organisations were raising concerns about practices by guerrilla organisations especially with regards to issues of abducting young children to join guerrilla ranks. As a result, a rebuke that was issued by ICRC in a communiqué specifically requested the Patriotic Front to:

1) Refrain from abducting civilians, in particular children, to neighbouring countries and allow those who are in refugee camps in Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique and elsewhere to return to their homes if they so desire.

---

[87] Arusha Pan African Congress on Refugees in Africa,' *BBC News*, 14 May 1979

[88] Christopher Nyoni, Interview

[89] Rhodesia/Zimbabwe-Appeal by the International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, 19 March 1979 (NAZ File MS 668)

2) Allow the ICRC to register all civilians, whatever their age, in refugee camps in Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique, to exchange messages between them and their next of kin in other refugee camps and in Rhodesia/Zimbabwe, to trace missing persons and to carryout repatriation of individual persons on humanitarian grounds.[90]

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the meaning of a refugee within the broader politics of a Southern Africa engulfed in struggles to end white minority domination by physically engaging the minority administrations in wars. The chapter argued that, from 1975 onwards, ideas of liberating Southern African countries which by then were still under colonial rule superseded those of taking care of the refugees produced by those struggles. As a result, rather than attention being directed at refugee security, what emerges are narratives and texts of the attempts by both refugee host nations and liberation organisations to use refugees as resources to further war interests. This had a direct implication on issues of refugees' security and human rights. However, such a perception later changed after the RSF started to attack sites, some of which were refugee camps that were in countries such as Mozambique and Zambia.

[90] ibid

CHAPTER 7

FROM COLONIAL TO POSTCOLONIAL: REFUGEE EXPERIENCES OF TRANSITION FROM RHODESIA TO ZIMBABWE AND BEYOND

7.0 Introduction

This chapter explores refugees' experiences of transition from the end of 1979 to the present. Although histories about the repatriation and resettlement of refugees who fled Rhodesia have been written,[1] those histories were quick to conclude that such exercises were a success. For these studies, both the repatriation and resettlement exercises were deemed a success the moment refugees set foot on Zimbabwean soil.[2] By contrast, I argue that accounts that that describe people movement without provision of detailed explanations on the patterns of both repatriation and ressettlement have weaknesses.[3] Firstly, they give narrow representations as they do not delve into the details of repatriation, a phenomenon that did not only have a genealogy predating 1980 as discussed in Chapter 5, but also one that should be viewed beyond just the movement of human bodies from one location to another. As the chapter will show, rather than just a people movement, refugees' repatriations generated debates that are useful in quests to understand fuller histories of transition from colonial to the post-colonial life. Secondly, the approaches that were used to measure the successes of the two programs, especially resettlement, relied on official records and interpretations without paying attention to how the beneficiaries, the refugees, interpreted experiences of such events. This line of argument follows Hynes's observation that "if we would like to understand what war is like, how it feels, we must seek the reality in the personal witnesses of men who were there."[4] Thus, whereas a lot was proposed to be done or said to have been

[1] Refugees repatriation literature includes; Stella Tandai Makanya, 'The desire to return' in Allen T and Morsink H (eds) *When Refugees go home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994) pp. 105-125 and Jackson Jeremy, 'Repatriation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe' in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994) pp.126-166

[2] Ibid

[3] On this kind of framing, I borrowed from Mark Israel who following Gailard, 1994 and Warner 1994 who also noted lack of detailed explanations in "processes of return." See, Mark Israel, 'South Africa War Resisters and the Ideologies of Return from Exile', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 13 No. 1, 2000, pp. 26-42

[4] Samuel Hynes cited in Alistair Thomson, 'Life Stories and Historical Analysis', in Simon Gunn and Lney Faire (eds) second edition *Research Methods for History* (United Kingdom: Edinburgh University Press, 2016), pp. 115-135

done for refugees, this chapter shows that the former refugees themselves remember very little about such promises impacting their lives.

This chapter will also show that attempts by former refugees to participate in national politics after 2000, led to heightened tensions between them and former combatants in Zimbabwe's liberation war. The climax of these tensions was the succession wars for the office of the president of the ruling ZANU PF party and by extension the country, that became visible, first in 2006[5] before spilling into the public domain just after 2014. These succession debates that roped in former refugees came after they had already started to engage in struggles that sought to compel government to cater for their welfare needs in early 2000s. For historical representations, there are two issues that can be deduced from the Madhlambudzi Refugees Association (MRA) approaches. Firstly, by representing a specific group of refugees, the MRA actions affirm the argument forwarded in this thesis about the refugee phenomenon having been diverse. Secondly, their actions also show how political and economic developments of the present can contribute to the production of forms of history that contradict lived experiences of phenomena under discussion.

As emphasised in the preceding chapters of this thesis, in as much as there were refugees in refugee camps, there were also many who were in the country side and in the urban areas of countries that provided refuge to refugees who had fled Rhodesia. Moreover, there were also those who were later conscripted into military organisations such as RENAMO whilst in spaces of refuge. The return of people belonging to some of these categories of refugees to Zimbabwe, as the chapter will emphasise, has not been represented in historical literature. Thus, in line with the thesis argument that advocates for fuller histories of refugees, the chapter will also discuss how these former refugees who had been turned into RENAMO returned to Zimbabwe before exploring the various ways in which they rehabilitated into society and the livelihood strategies they adopted after independence.

Although the identities of RENAMO conscripted refugees as proper refugees is one that raises questions on why their issues must be explored within the domain of refugees, it should be known that just like the other categories, their deserving of historical attention under the refugees' banner stems from the fact when they fled Rhodesia, their intention was to seek refuge in Mozambique. As such, their conscription by RENAMO, as already stressed

[5] On ZANU succession wars, see, Ian Phimister and Brian Raftopoulos 'Desperate Days in Zimbabwe', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 34, No. 113, Imperial, Neo-Liberal Africa? (Sep., 2007), pp. 573-580

elsewhere in this thesis, must be regarded as part of the unfortunate incidences that constitute refugees' experiences whilst in sites of refuge. Hence, the chapter discusses the circumstances in which they returned to Zimbabwe alongside the experiences and circumstances of those who came as refugees from the countryside, from urban centres and from camps. All these categories produced varying repatriation and rehabilitation dynamics which are important in understanding the full story of the reasons and conduct of both repatriation and post war resettlement of refugees.

There are a number of questions pertaining to the representation of refugees which this study argues were initially unanswered in existing representations of refugees. These questions are: did the conclusion of the war mean anything to the refugees in independent Zimbabwe? What form of relationship was created between the state and the refugees in independent Zimbabwe? Lastly, what sort of livelihood approaches did the refugees adopt to recover from the shocks of the military conflict that had initially uprooted them? I explore these questions in order to provide deeper understandings of refugees' experiences of the transition and post transition periods by first demonstrating how issues of refugees' repatriations go beyond the mere discourse of people movement from one location to another. Thus, broadly, the chapter shows that whilst repatriation and rehabilation are an important part of refugees' post war history, a fuller history of refugees in post conflict period actually go beyond these themes.

7.1 Refugees in Rhodesia to Zimbabwe transition debates

When the issue of how Rhodesia was supposed to change to Zimbabwe was being discussed at the Lancaster House Conference in London from September to December of 1979, refugee repatriations were one of the critical issues tabled for discussion. The conference noted and prescribed:

> Many thousands of Rhodesian citizens are at present living outside the country. Most of them wish to return and it will be desirable that as many as possible should do so in order to vote in the election. The return of all refugees will be a task requiring careful organisation. But a start should be made in enabling the refugees to return to their homes as soon as possible; and the British Government will be ready to assist with the process. The task of effecting the return of all refugees will need to be completed by the independence government in cooperation with the neighbouring countries.[6]

[6] Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference held at Lancaster House Agreement, September to December 1979 Report

Despite such a proposal and the conference emphasis on the refugee figure as someone who was "living outside the country", when the repatriations of refugees eventually commenced, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) failed to meet its target to repatriate many of the refugees before the elections.[7] When the decision to briefly terminate the repatriation process was taken, only about 33 428 refugees had been repatriated from Botswana, Zambia and Mozambique out of an estimated figure of about 200 000 claimed to have been out of the country.[8] According to the UNHCR, of these 33 428 refugees, slightly more than "18 000 had come from Botswana, nearly 11 000 from Mozambique and more than 4000 from Zambia."[9] Overall, the total refugee figure for Botswana was 23 000, for Zambia 35 000 with Mozambique estimated to have been hosting more than 150 000.[10] These figures did not include the self-resettled refugees most of whom were in Mozambique as discussed in this thesis.

Although lack of resources was cited as one of the main reasons for failure to complete the repatriations before the elections,[11] the agitating parties in the struggle for Rhodesia also played a role in stagnating refugees' repatriation. Such stagnation was due to contradictions in perceived effects the repatriation of refugees was going to cause on the forthcoming elections in Rhodesia. To the nationalist movements and, to some extent, refugee host nations governing parties, the success of their preferred candidates in the elections prescribed by the Lancaster House conference depended on mobilisations of refugees to vote according to prescribed patterns upon repatriation. Likewise, the Rhodesian government sought to prevent the return of refugees because they thought that their presence would tilt the electoral balance to the Patriotic Front or the nationalist movements. Thus, the Rhodesia parties argued that the repatriating refugees were not genuine since they had coexisted in the same spaces as guerrillas.[12] Ultimately, Rhodesia decided it was in its best interests to frustrate the

[7] Nicholas Ashford, 'Torture allegations as Rhodesian repatriation programme is suspended for election period', *The Times,* 26 February 1980

[8] For these figures see, John Myres, 'Plans for return of refugees', *Telegraph,* 14 December 1979. See also, 'Refugee position is being discussed', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 5 January 1980 and Herald Reporter, 'Control of refugees strict-Beecroft', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 24 January 1980

[9] Nicholas Ashford, 'Torture allegations as Rhodesian repatriation programme is suspended for election period', *The Times,* 25 February 1980

[10] John Myres, 'Plans for return of refugees' and Herald Reporter, 'Control of refugees strict- Beecroft'

[11] Nicholas Ashford, 'Many refugees may not vote in Rhodesia', *Times,* 17 January 1980

[12] For discussions on issues around questions of refuge genuineness see, 'UK will act to prevent return of fakes', *Rand Daily Mail,* 21 January 1980

repatriation exercises. These frustrations are reflected in the figures of refugees that were repatriated from Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana before the elections.[13]

From an analytical perspective, the pro Rhodesian parties were not entirely wrong in their assumptions of nationalist parties and their allies having planned to use refugees in their bid to win the elections. We get evidence of this through gleaning meaning from the language that the guerrilla organisations and their allies are purported to have used in the refugee camps just before commencement of discussions about transition as well as during transition itself. For instance, in Mozambique, when it seemed apparent that the war was heading towards inconclusiveness, guerrillas from ZANU had warned all refugees to be prepared to join the war. Ronia Samushonga explained how this message was conveyed:

> After that they (United Nations) came with some papers for us to fill. They asked us about details such as the places where we had come from, our real names as well as our war names.
> *Were you also given war names?*
> Yes, we were given those names because that time they (the guerrillas) were telling us that if Rhodesia continues with its stubbornness of refusing to surrender, then everyone (the refugees) must be prepared to join the war and we said yes we are prepared because we were already in the forest. So, my name was Mabhunu Muchapera (the Boers will perish)[14]

These proposals that refugees were supposed to fight on the side of the nationalist movements continued during the period when the war was declared over and when the refugees were being informed of the developments. In Mozambique at Doroi, for example, when FRELIMO came to deliver the news about the end of the war in Rhodesia, they took the same opportunity to canvass support for Mugabe from the refugees. Gogo Jane explained how FRELIMO canvassed for support for Mugabe in our conversation that proceeded as follows:

> *When you came back to Zimbabwe at the end of the war, did you know that the war was over? Who told you that the war was over?*
> We were told by *ma* FRELIMO of Mozambique "that *vana ve* Zimbabwe, your country is now right. Therefore, you are now supposed to go back home and vote with others, to vote for Mugabe. So, there are vehicles that are coming to fetch you"[15]

However, although FRELIMO's support or their decision to canvas support for ZANU and its leader Mugabe is not surprising, what seems unusual was when Mugabe later seemed to

[13] For pre 1980 election refugee repatriation patterns see, Nicholas Ashford, 'Torture allegations'

[14] Ronia Samushonga, Interview

[15] Jane Mharapara, Interview

brand the refugee support for him as voluntary.[16] This he did whilst omitting the canvassing methodologies that were being deployed in negotiating their support. Nevertheless, it can be argued that by canvasing for support in that way, ZANU and FRELIMO's actions vindicated the Rhodesia based parties' position that nationalist organisations wanted to use refugees to their advantage.

With regards to the canvasing for support that was taking place in the camps, there is no doubt that such behaviour contributed to Rhodesia's slower admittance of repatriated refugees from both Zambia and Mozambique.[17] This situation was different in Botswana, a country which the Rhodesians did not suspect for political conscientization of the refugees. As discussed in Chapter 6, Botswana had succeeded, to a certain degree,[18] to portray an image of neutrality to the Rhodesians whilst hiding the actual role they were playing in assisting the nationalist parties involved in the struggle for Rhodesia in their war efforts. In turn Rhodesia considered the refugees who were coming from a supposedly neutral Botswana as genuine. For its stance, Rhodesia even found support from ZAPU quarters in the form of its National Organising secretary, Vote Moyo, who stated that the refugees who were at Tegwani Mission in Plumtree were not supposed to be enmeshed in the debates about genuineness since they were coming from Botswana, a country where all the refugees were genuine. [19] These suggestions from high ranking party officials like Moyo that there were refugees who were genuine and others who might not have been, also helped in emboldening Rhodesia. The end result for all the bickering was the turning away and torture of many refugees who attempted to repatriate into Rhodesia from Zambia.[20] Although the ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo had tried to respond to allegations of refugees' exposure to guerrilla training by claiming that such refugees were later demobilised after training,[21] his argument still vindicated Rhodesia's claims.

---

[16] Jonathan Steele, 'Rhodesian refugees face tough screening', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 23 February 1980

[17] Nicholas Ashford, 'Torture allegations'

[18] Although the Rhodesians trusted President Khama, this did not completely remove Botswana from Rhodesian surveillance. The arrest of Makepisi discussed in the previous chapter must be read within this context

[19] Herald Correspondent, 'More than 900 illegal immigrants who crossed from Botswana into Rhodesia detained at Khami', *The Rhodesian Herald,* 18 January 1980.

[20] Nicholas Ashford, 'Torture allegations.', Return of Rhodesian Refugees: Lusaka Report of "Torture", *BBC News,* 11 February 1980 and BBC News, Mozambique Criticism of the Handling of Refugees, *BBC News,* 23 February 1980

[21] Nicholas Ashford, 'Refugees returning to Rhodesia', *Telegraph,* 6 February 1980

Like Smith and the guerrilla organisations, Abel Muzorewa of the African National Congress (ANC) was another politician to invoke refugees in his transitional debate arguments. Just before the elections in February of 1980, Muzorewa accused both ZAPU and ZANU of trying to filter people who were not even Rhodesians into the country under the guise of refugees.[22] The pseudo refugees, as Muzorewa claimed, "did not even speak the local Ndebele and Shona languages" and had been shipped into the country by ZAPU and ZANU to participate in the elections under the guise of being refugees.[23] Muzorewa further accused the two nationalist parties for having ill-treated and disappeared refugees aligned to his own political party in the camps in both Zambia and Mozambique.[24] Although the validity of these claims were not confirmed in either oral or written sources, that Muzorewa used the notion of refugees as the basis for his arguments adds to suggestions that the issue of refugees' repatriation did not just involve the aspect of movement from a particular location to another. Instead, there were debates beforehand which were also part of the process. These debates confirm that refugees were not just things to be moved.

7.2 THE DYNAMICS OF REFUGEES REPATRIATION AND REHABILITATION

A key argument forwarded in this thesis is about the multiplicity of the dimensions of the refugee experiences in the anti-Rhodesia struggles. When repatriation and subsequent rehabilitation of the refugees commenced, these variations also spilled into those spheres. Indeed, through reading the former refugees' narratives around these issues closely, what emerges are stories of a continuation of different dimensions that were characteristic of their experiences. However, as emphasised in the introductory remarks, an understanding of these dimensions can best be created through exploring the patterns that were generated by both repatriation and rehabilitation of people who were coming from different types of refugees such as the camps, the self-settled and the urban refugees. Not only does a study of these patterns show diversity but it also allows us to question the outcome of the repatriation and resettlement exercises especially when considering that the exercises were passed as a success in existing historical representations.

[22] Sunday Mail Reporter, 'Refugees Screening promised', *Sunday Mail*, 20 January 1980

[23] ibid

[24] ibid

7.2.1 Camp refugees' experiences of repatriation and rehabilitation

One issue with most studies on Zimbabwean refugees' repatriation is that they concentrate their articulations of the event based on the movement of camp-based refugees from sites of refuge to transit centres that were dotted around the country. The story of repatriation from the camps that emerges is one of a uniform event whose key result was the successful settlement of the former refugees in their original homes. Such articulations of history are problematic as they give impressions that the story of repatriation itself was a uniform phenomenon when in fact the whole process was marked by diversities. For instance, in Mutasa District, just like in the 1978 to 1979 self and RSF forced repatriations, the refugees from Mozambique did not head straight to their original homes after clearance at Toronto transit camp.[25] This was different with what happened to some of the refugees from the Matabeleland region especially those who were repatriating from Botswana based spaces.[26] In Mutasa, upon the return of the refugees, the Rhodesian era PV system was still intact and hence the refugees who repatriated from Mozambique such as the Samushonga and Gogo Jane's families had to be content with joining their relatives who had remained "emplaced" in the PVs.[27] It was these former refugees' "emplaced" kin who also became their critical source of livelihood support upon settlement in the Keeps.[28]

Within the same Mozambican camp-based refugees' movements, there were also further variations and these have to do with the manner in which all the refugees who were in camps repatriated. For instance, instead of being repatriated through Toronto which served as the nearest exit point from Doroi, younger refugees such as Faith and Winnet Mutamiswa as well as Marian Tsoro found themselves being repatriated to an assembly point in Mtoko District which was located in Mashonaland East Province.[29] In the case of these refugees, it is probable that their repatriation treatment was connected to the larger political debate of that period, which, as pointed out in the previous section, revolved around the pertinent issue of

[25] Weston Samushonga, Ronia Samushonga and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa, 9 September 2016 and Jane Mharapara, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Muparutsa's area, 7 September 2016

[26] Nelly Tapelo, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 24 August 2017

[27] Weston Samushonga, Ronia Samushonga and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview and Jane Mharapara, Interview

[28] ibid

[29] Faith Mutamiswa, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Samanga's area, Mutasa, 7 September 2016; Winnet Mutamiswa, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya 1, Nyatwe area, Mutasa 8 September 2016 and Marian Tsoro, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 9 September 2017

what constituted a refugee's identity. As discussed in those preceding sections, Rhodesian terminologies had no distinctions between refugees who resided in close proximity to guerrilla spaces with the guerrillas themselves. Therefore, the younger refugees found themselves being enmeshed in the prevailing debates between political organisations about who was a refugee and who was not. At the end, what emerged were repatriation experiences shaped by the prevailing political debates rather than by lived experiences in the camps. In this regard, the concerned refugees were repatriated through an assembly point as combatants instead of refugee transit camps as refugees.

Upon resettlement in the PVs, one significant change that characterised the repatriating refugees' experiences was on immediate post-repatriation livelihoods. Contrary to a practice which the refugees who resided in camps in Mozambique had been exposed to, the situation changed once the refugees settled in the PVs of Mutasa district and assumed new statuses as former refugees. Firstly, instead of food assistance being brought to the former refugees in the PVs where they resided, they had to contend with travelling to the city of Mutare, a distance of more than sixty kilometres away to access food aid. Although some of the refugees managed to get some of their food requirements through that way, sentiments were expressed that such assistance might have been linked to the 1980 electoral contests rather than a genuine rehabilitation package. We get clues of how food assistance might have been used for electoral purposes through reading the notes of the testimonies given by Weston and Ronia Samushonga during our interview. These hints emerged as follows:

> *You people who were coming from outside, when you arrived in Keeps, let's say you don't have any relatives there. Where did you get food?*
> [Weston Samushonga] We went to Mutare. We were given letters to board buses and get food.
> [Ronia interjecting and correcting Weston] It just happened in 80 [1980], it was not like that. When we went to our homes, we never got anything. The program finished in 80 [1980] when people were going *kumavotes* (to the elections) up until today we have never been given anything.[30]

Cecilia Saraurayi concurred with the Samushongas' questioning of the food assistance package and went a step further by suggesting that the 1980s food assistances could have been used for electioneering purposes. However, unlike the Samushongas who were not specific on relationships between food assistance and electoral contests, Cecilia Saraurayi

[30] Weston, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

identified Muzorewa as one political player who might have used food to get votes. This revelation emerged in our dialogue as follows:

> *Were you ever given food in the keeps?*
> We were given by Muzorewa like what I said. That time he was campaigning. So, we were given blankets, sugar, milk, mealie meal and cow peas. That's when we were given food. But he was campaigning that time. The guard forces never gave us anything.[31]

Although the Samushonga family indicated that people were given passes to board busses freely for purposes of accessing food aid in Mutare, such an arrangement might not have been revealed to all former refugees that had repatriated from the camps in Mozambique. For instance, Gogo Jane was one of the refugees who admitted failure to go to Mutare to register as a refugee on account of a lack of travelling financial resources. She expressed her predicament in the following dialogic conversation:

> *When you returned to your homesteads, is there any assistance that you were given by the government [postcolonial] to enable you to resettle properly?*
> Us we never got any assistance. They used to say "you refugees who came from Mozambique go and register. So, others went to Nyausunzi [sic] to register
> *Where is Nyausunzi?*
> In Mutare. So, some of us who didn't have money failed to go there but they were always saying we want to give you some assistance, but we never saw the assistance.
> *For those who went to Nyausunzi, did they get any assistance?*
> I don't know, but that one whom I am talking about, *Mai* Muniya (Mrs Muniya), she is the one who persisted on going there. Whether she got anything or she didn't get anything, I never asked.[32]

Although Gogo Jane indicates that she might have been left out of both resettlement assistance and the refugee registration process through lack of travelling resources, there is a possibility that both the option of a resettlement allowance and the need to register might not have been available to all refugees. We get evidence for the non-provision of resettlement assistance from the Samushonga family who, despite having made some trips to Mutare, do not remember receiving any resettlement assistance. Ronia Samushonga revealed this when she was describing how they had return to their homestead:

> *When you got back to your rural homes, how did you find the place?*
> There was nothing left. It was a bush. In the beginning we started off by sleeping in the open.
> *Was there any resettlement assistance that you were given by government?*

[31] Cecilia Saraurayi, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 11 September 2017

[32] Jane Mharapara, Interview

> Nothing, nothing at all. Even a pot to cook food we had to be given by *vana mhai* (parents) because when we returned, they were still alive. They had not died.[33]

Despite the refugees encountering challenges in getting resettlement assistance, the UNHCR continued to supply humanitarian aid meant to assist the refugees to resettle.[34] What might have happened was that such UNHCR assistance might not have been enough for the refugees to feel the impact and that the aid was also used for other rehabilitation related programs. Details of the UNHCR's continued provision of rehabilitation assistance were provided by the director in the Ministry of Social Services, Brian Beecroft as follows:

> Then came an even more stupendous challenge. How to get these two million people, including those who'd moved within the country, back into their normal pastoral way of life in the rural areas in collaboration with DEVAG (Department of Agriculture), with the Ministry of Health and ourselves. With ourselves acting as convenor we launched a scheme of rehabilitation wherein for eight months we supplied a regular food supply, delivered to people who worked their allocated plot of land with tools provided through UNHCR Funds and distributed by DEVAG, with seed distribution in like manner by DEVAG, to this great mass of people who had returned to their land. They had worked through that- fortunately it was a reasonable rainy season, and they had the equipment and the wherewithal: we had agricultural demonstrators from DEVAG who told people how to do and what to do and we had the Party to tell them that if we were told to do something they darn well did it: and my Minister, Kangai, said, "People who don't work don't eat":" and this was an added inducement for people to apply themselves to rehabilitation.[35]

True to Minister Kumbirai Kangai's concept of "people who don't work don't eat" as stipulated in Beecroft's memoir, the refugees' post war conduct when given the limited support began to be shaped by such advice. One such domain of society whereby post war experiences were influenced by the new Zimbabwe government's vision for the nation as embodied in Kangai's statement was the education sector which had absorbed young refugees that had repatriated from the camps outside the country such as Malakibungu Nkomo and Buyile Dube. When Malakibungu enrolled in 1981 at JZ Moyo secondary school, a school founded to cater for repatriating refugee children under the Zimbabwe Foundation of Education with Production (ZIMFEP) program, one of the requirements upon enrolling was that students were supposed to participate in programs known as "education with production

[33] Weston, Ronia and Esnathy Samushonga, Interview

[34] Brian Beecroft, 'Return and resettlement of refugees, 1979-80', unpublished memoirs, NAZ File Oral/242

[35] ibid

(EWF)".[36] EWP according to ZIMFEP was a Marxist polytechnic concept that emphasised on a close "integration between theory and practice and between subjects."[37] In Zimbabwe, the concept owed its origins to the Foundation for Education with Production (FEP) that was led by Patrick van Rensburg, an anti-apartheid activist then based in Botswana.[38] In Malakibungu's case, EWP entailed a requirement for learners to combine educational programs with production work in agricultural fields. Despite such a program fulfilling the dictates of the "people who don't work don't eat" concept, the education with production idea had negative consequences on learners' progression in the classroom. Most students failed to cope with the dual tasks of classroom education and the education with production requirements. Malakibungu was one of those students who failed the ordinary level examinations that he wrote in 1983 and attributed failure to EWP.[39]

Despite the negative impacts of the education with production policy on the educational progress of people like Malakibungu Nkomo, on another side it can be argued that the idea was an important ingredient in laying the foundations of the post-colonial nation state. This is because the ideology was critical in ensuring that the post-colonial state did not slide into some kind of welfare state, a situation whereby a country will have to cater for its citizenry's livelihoods without the citizens contributing anything in terms of production. More so, as a program specifically founded to cater for former refugee children and former combatants, the ZIMFEP project was perhaps the only program that continued to emphasise on refugees from 1980 until discontinuation in 1991. The discontinuation of ZIMFEP was due to political interferences as well as lack of cohesion between the Zimbabwe Government and the donor community that had funded the program since inception.[40]

7.2.2 The self-settled and urban refugees in repatriation and rehabilitation history

Although the convergence of rival armed forces in the Mozambican villages of chiefs Nyandiro, Timba, Nenhanga, Mabota and Makore had forced many refugee families to return

[36] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview with Senzeni Khumalo, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima, 25 August 2016

[37] Ingemar Gustafsson et al, *Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP): A follow up study* (Stockholm: SIDA Eductaion Division Document Number 29, 1991), p. 4. See also, Janice Mclaughlin et al, *Education with production in Zimbabwe: the story of ZIMFEP*, (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production; Gaborone, Botswana: Foundation for Education with Production, 2002), p.35

[38] Janice McLaughlin et al., *Education With Production*, p. 16

[39] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

[40] Janice McLaughlin et al., *Education With Production*, pp. 83-85

to Rhodesia between 1978 and 1979 as discussed in chapter 5, there were several other families who remained behind. Monica Mudhibhisi, Katoya Makwara and Noah Mangemba's families adopted different survival strategies to remain in Mozambique. As a result, when Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980, these individuals together with their families were still in Mozambique and decided to remain there until 1982. They decided to remain in Mozambique until "when we have heard that all gun firing had completely ceased in Zimbabwe."[41]

Nonetheless, just like their self-settled counterparts who returned earlier, the Mudhibhisi and Mangemba families also came back through undesignated border points in 1982. However, unlike their counterparts who had moved to the Keeps upon returning, Katoya, Mudhibhisi and Mangemba families found people already moving out of the Keeps to their original homes.[42] This meant that the Mudhibhisi and Mangemba families did not have to depend on their relatives for immediate post repatriation livelihoods in the PVs. The families immediately occupied themselves with the reconstruction processes of their former homes just like their counterparts were doing, Monica Mudhibhisi was, however, subjected to a post refugee experience which was unique to her alone among the participants in this study. According to Monica Mudhibhisi, during her time of refuge in Manica, Mozambique, she had given birth to some of her children. After completing her self-repatriation to independent Zimbabwe, Monica attempted to get birth registration certificates for the concerned children. Her endeavour to get the registration certificates proved unsuccessful as the authorities promptly told her that she could not acquire the documentation because the children in question were Mozambicans and not Zimbabweans. As proof for their argument, the authorities pointed to the children's polio vaccination marks and argued that they were not consistent with those of Zimbabweans. According to Monica, the Mozambican polio vaccination marks appear on the lower part of the arm whilst the Zimbabwe ones are on the upper part of the arm, closer to the shoulder. As such, Monica's children who in 2017 had reached adulthood were still stateless as they had no birth registration certificates to authenticate their Zimbabwean citizenship status. This was in addition to the fact that they had also failed to progress further with their education since they had no birth registration

[41] Katoya Makwara, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 8 Sepetember 2017; Noah Mangemba, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 9 Seeptember, 2017 and Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 11 September 2017

[42] Noah Mangemba, Interview and Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview

certificates, a critical requirement in Zimbabwe for one to progress from primary to secondary education.[43]

Although Monica's post war rehabilitation experience in this study was unique to her alone, it raises questions, firstly about agreements on citizenship made at the 1979 Lancaster House conference and secondly, about notions forwarded in historical representations of refugees' repatriation and rehabilitation being entirely success stories. In terms of Monica's circumstances being contrary to the agreements made at the Lancaster House conference, it is important to note that clauses 1 and 3 of Annexure C section B of the agreement itself had dealt with these issues of citizenship somehow decisively. For instance, in respect of who was supposed to be a citizen in independent Zimbabwe, clause 1 of the agreement states:

> Every person who was a citizen of Rhodesia immediately before Independence will automatically become a citizen of Zimbabwe on Independence (by birth, descent or registration, as the case may be, according to his former status). Every person who, immediately before Independence, possessed such qualifications that the relevant authority would, upon application duly made, have registered him as a citizen of Rhodesia, will be entitled to make application in the prescribed manner at any time during the first five years after Independence and it will be incumbent upon the competent authority to grant that application and cause him to be registered as a citizen of Zimbabwe

Clause 3 observes:

> Every person born outside Zimbabwe after independence but whose father (or, if he is illegitimate, whose mother) is then a citizen of Zimbabwe by birth or registration will himself become a citizen of Zimbabwe by descent.[44]

Thus, in terms of the Lancaster House Agreement which by extension served as independent Zimbabwe's first supreme law, the constitution until 1987, what is clear is that Monica's case was not dealt with according to the dictates of the national law. In this regard, the law was clear that children were not supposed to be denied registration if there was proof of citizenship for one of their parents prior to their flight from the then Rhodesia.[45]In Monica's case, the polio vaccination marks prevailed over the Constitution.

There are other cases which show that the process of refugees and post-war resettlement was not a uniform phenomenon. One such issue was that of refugees' post war registration that

[43] Monica Mudhibhisi, Interview

[44] The Lancaster House Agreement

[45] ibid

Gogo Jane hinted to in the previous section as well as the issue of bus boarding exemptions that were extended to former camp refugees to enable them to get food in Mutare.[46] In this study, no former self-settled refugee remembered being told to go and register as former refugees and being given bus exemptions to use for purposes of acquiring food aid in Mutare.[47] Whilst disparities like these might have arisen from the fact that camp refugees had repatriated as organised bodies and hence their exposure to some subsidies, what is clear is that the identity of a refugee that appealed the most to the authorities at that particular time was that of former residents of the camps.

7.2.3 Violence as a tool of rehabilitation: Former refugees turned RENAMO in independent Zimbabwe

Another group of refugees whose experiences provide insights into the conduct of repatriation and post war rehabilitation is that of the refugees who were conscripted into the ranks of the anti-FRELIMO movement of RENAMO. Although the UNHCR definition of a refugee does not consider people who joined warrior organisations as refugees, the case of the RENAMO conscripts must be treated differently. As stated in the introductory remarks of this chapter, these were people who had been conscripted after having sought refuge in Mozambique. By extension, their case remains a good example of the broader discussion of what refugees experienced whilst in spaces of refuge. More so, if we retrace the history of these former conscripted refugees who participated in this study, what will be revealed is that their decisions to repatriate were influenced by the political developments in their home country than by the conclusion of the RENAMO-FRELIMO conflict which only took place in 1992 long after the former refugee conscripts had returned. In other words, it was the political shift from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe that created conducive conditions for the return of the three conscripted former refugees who took part in this study. Such conditions might not have been available during the time of the struggle for Rhodesia when deserting was just not possible as one's life was not guaranteed after having done so. Indeed, through the political changes, immediately after Zimbabwe's independence most of the former refugee RENAMO conscripts took that opportunity to desert. However, unlike most of the refugees who repatriated to Zimbabwe upon independence, the returning former RENAMO were subjected

[46] Jane Mharapara, Interview

[47] All former refugees from Subchief Mandeya's area do not remember being told to register as refugees

to violent and shameful rehabilitation into society. That the post war rehabilitation exercise was characterised by shaming and violence is contrary to post-war historical representations that speak of non-violent and orderly repatriation and rehabilitation.

Of former RENAMO conscripts returned to Zimbabwe, Peter Makureya was the first to make such an attempt, albeit accidentally. For Peter Makureya, when the political events in Rhodesia were pointing towards a transition to Zimbabwe, he was enjoying his weekend off RENAMO duties in Keep 7 of Subchief Mandeya's area. When he eventually reported back for duty, he found out that RENAMO had already vacated their Odzi base for the former Eastern Transvaal and now Mpumalanga province of South Africa since it was clear that the incoming ZANU PF led government was not going to tolerate RENAMO activities on Zimbabwean soil against their allies, FRELIMO. Stranded, Makureya trekked back to Keep 7, Subchief Mandeya's area where he successfully rehabilitated himself back into civilian life just before independence in 1980. However, on the eve of independence, when people started the celebrations, Makureya was exposed by the guerrillas who were present in Keep 7 as *Matsanga*. Makureya's wife, Evelyn Makwara[48] explained how this event unfolded:

> When we were told to go and celebrate the country that had been won, I was carrying my child on the back. *Baba,* (her husband) we had left him at the house. As we were celebrating, we just saw *baba* arriving in the middle of a multitude who were shouting *Matsanga uyo, Matsanga uyo* (there is *Matsanga,* there is *Matsanga*) and the comrades (the guerrillas) were beating him. They hit him against a vehicle that was there and I was watching. There was an aunt of ours called *Mai* Chibuwe. I then went to her to inform her about what was happening and I was crying. When Mai Chibuwe came to observe what was happening, she overheard the tormentors asking for the whereabouts of the wives of *Matsanga* and she then came back to inform me that I must flee since they were now looking for me. I carried my child and fled the Keep. I crossed a river called Muzinga and hid there. Meanwhile the people continued with the jubilations. The guerrillas then took him to the chief (Subchief). Upon arrival at the chief's place, the Chief pleaded with the guerrillas and told them that he (Makureya) was not a Mozambican but was born and bred locally. "If he was captured (by RENAMO), then he was captured but he was born and bred here." The guerrillas obliged to the Chief's pleas. After they had left, aunt came to inform me that it was now safe to return.[49]

Although Sub-chief Mandeya had managed to save Makureya's life through his intervention, Evelyn soon found out that there were limitations to the Subchief's interventions. When she returned from hiding, she was confronted with the bloodied and bruised body of her husband,

[48] Evelyn Makwara narrated this story after realising that her husband did not want to talk about it. See chapter 2

[49] Evelyn Makwara, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 8 Sepetember 2017

Makureya. After failing to administer first aid treatment to him properly, she decided to take him to the local PV clinic for proper treatment. When she attempted to do so, she found out that that the guerrillas had also left a warning at the clinic forbidding anyone from offering Makureya any treatment. After a few days and upon realising that Makureya's situation was not getting any better, they decided to make a report to the police at Ruda Camp. After making the report, the police intervened and issued an order and compelled the nurses to treat him. Despite receiving treatment, Makureya's predicament did not end. He was subjected to further interrogations concerning his period in RENAMO and was also required to make periodic reports at Ruda Camp, an activity that he was to embark on for almost all 1980.

Makureya was not the only former refugee turned RENAMO to receive violent rehabilitation. Simon Gutsaru and Mutivho were two other former RENAMO subjected to similar treatment. However, unlike Makureya who had happened to be in Rhodesia when the country transited to Zimbabwe, Gutsaru and Mutivho were in Mozambique on RENAMO operation duties in different places. Gutsaru was operating in the Gorongoza[50] area of Mozambique and Mutivho was in the Villa Paivha[51] area of Tete province. Of the two, Mutivho was the first to make a decision to desert from RENAMO together with nine other operatives. Of the nine deserters, five were Zimbabweans and the other four were Mozambicans. After successfully deserting, the operatives left their guns on the Mozambican side of the border with Zimbabwe. After arriving in the Honde Valley, Mutivho and his colleagues were immediately sold out to members of the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) who promptly apprehended them. After interrogations that included beatings, the gang then led the ZNA to the place where they had left their guns. After his arrest, Mutivho was then taken to Goromonzi near Harare, where he was subjected to a three-month detention and interrogation. Upon his clearance, Mutivho and his Zimbabwean colleagues were given a letter that was supposed to be their security against further interrogations. The Mozambicans who had deserted with Mutivho were handed over to FRELIMO.[52]

Unlike Mutivho and his colleagues who made a collective decision to flee, Simon Gutsaru made the same as an individual. According to him, he left both his RENAMO uniform and gun in his zone of operation before fleeing. Along the way Gutsaru had to exercise extreme

[50] Simon Gutsaru, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 8 September 2017

[51] David Mutivho, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa, 11 September 2017

[52] David Mutivho, Interview

caution for fear of being exposed as RENAMO by Mozambican villagers. According to him, the villagers had been told by FRELIMO to report anyone to the authorities whom they suspected of being RENAMO. After crossing the border, Gutsaru arrived in Subchief Mandeya's area in 1982 when the last group of people to move out of the Keeps were doing so. Upon his arrival, Gutsaru tried to rebuild his homestead. However, just like Mutivho before him, he was soon sold out to the authorities by fellow villagers who reported him for being a RENAMO operative. He was then arrested and taken to the city of Mutare where a process to determine his citizenship status was then initiated. The citizenship determination exercise only ended when former Mozambican President, Joachim Chissano who by that time was a high-ranking member of FRELIMO came to Mutare to check on the citizenship statuses of people like Gutsaru who were being held in captivity for associations with RENAMO. After Chissano's positive confirmation that Gutsaru was not a Mozambican, he was then released from custody. However, just like Makureya and Mutivho before him, Gutsaru was ordered to make periodic reports at Ruda police station. According to him, his experiences of reporting to Ruda camp varied from one interrogator to the other for if "you happen to meet a bad interrogator, that interrogation would also include receiving some kicks."[53]

Although post-colonial Zimbabwean authorities can argue that Makureya, Gutsaru and Mutivho's post war treatment was related to national security concerns, questions can be raised about why the trio had to undergo lengthy interrogations especially considering that at independence in 1980, the Prime Minister of the country had declared a policy of national reconciliation between former agitating forces in the struggle for Rhodesia. Although, Makureya might be an exception, by the time Gutsaru and Mutivho trekked back to Zimbabwe in 1982, the wartime rival armies of ZIPRA, ZANLA and the RSF had integrated to form the Zimbabwe National Army (ZNA) as a way of fostering such reconciliation policies.

It remains a mystery why former RENAMO conscripts were not accorded the same reconciliatory gestures especially considering that ZANU had operated from Mozambique and was aware of the circumstances under which RENAMO recruited its forces. As Alexander also observed in her work in Susundenga District, the conscription recruitment

[53] Simon Gutsaru, Interview

methods of RENAMO were not only confined to Mavhonde District where the conscripted refugees who participated in this study were forcibly recruited. Instead, as Alexander observed, RENAMO used the same method in Susundenga.[54] However, what is true from the post war experiences of the former refugees turned RENAMO is that violence was part of the apparatus used in the post-war Zimbabwe rehabilitation exercise. This assertion on the role of violence in post-independence settlement of refugees was further confirmed in Matabeleland through the work of Ranger *et al* and in this study through the experiences of Malachi Nkomo. For Nkomo, his subjection to state violence which took place in 1985 was due to his history of staying in Zambia, the country which ZAPU had operated during Zimbabwe's liberation struggle. Nkomo had fallen into that situation after he was reported to the authorities for being a dissident by villagers of the area where the school, he was teaching at was located. After the report, Nkomo was arrested in 1985 and incarcerated for a year in Plumtree before being released without trial.[55]

7.3 Post refuge continuities

A key issue with most postcolonial historical accounts of post refugee settlement is to limit the narrations on roles played by governments in settling the former refugees. It is an approach that assumes that everything refugees did or happened to them was uniform. In this section, I discuss refugees' continuities after war disruptions. The intention is to show different methods former refugees adopted to shape their post conflict lifestyles and the different histories produced therein.

As seen in the preceding chapters, most refugees who fled to Mozambique during the war did so as family groups more than individuals. With the exception of families like that of Katoya Makwara or Tendai Jimu where the husband and the father had remained behind, what whole family flights meant was that they lost important sources of wealth such as livestock as most of the refugees had left their livestock unattended upon their flight.[56] Livestock, as Webster

[54] Jocelyn Alexander, Political Change in Manica Province, Mozambique: Implications for the Decentralization of Power, (Oxford: Oxford University, 1995), p 9

[55] Malakibungu Nkomo, Interview

[56] Weston Samushonga, Interview

Whande observed, is the most important measure of people wealth in African societies.[57] In such circumstances, families who own livestock are ranked higher on the wealthy people scale.[58] Therefore, when all the refugees who returned to Mutasa district later left the PVs, they were already in that category of the very poor as they no longer had livestock. This was different from those of Bulilima who, as we have seen, fled as individuals not as families. Upon their return, like Katoya Makwara, most joined their families who had remained behind and depended on them as key sources of livelihoods. Tshlonipani Ncube remembers that when the sickness that had troubled her whilst she was still at Dukwi in Botswana persisted upon her return, her father sold most of his cattle whilst trying to find a cure for her illness.[59]

Another important factor that influenced refugees' post war livelihoods was that of geography. Mutasa district lies in regions 1 and 2 of Zimbabwe's climatic regions. In terms of key natural resources, the district is one of the most well-watered in the whole country. Thus, in terms of the refugees re-establishing themselves, those of Mutasa district turned to market gardening for sustenance. Some of the former refugees like the Samushonga family managed to establish banana plantations which have uplifted them from the poor status which they were in upon their return from Mozambique and when they had moved out of the PVs at the end of 1981. In establishing the family market gardening business venture, it was Ronia Samushonga and her co-wife, Esnathy who were instrumental as Weston their husband had found employment in Harare as a builder, a skill that had sustained him and his family before the flight to Mozambique. Through market gardening, the Samushonga family managed to send their children to school. One of the family's sons, himself a former refugee, is now a headmaster at one of the schools in Mutasa's neighbouring district of Nyanga.

The situation of Mutasa district was different to Bulilima district which is located in climatic regions 4 and 5. The location of the district in that region places it in the category of Zimbabwe's driest. As a result, people's livelihoods in this region predominantly revolve around livestock production and growing of small grain crops and. as will be discussed below, as well as migrations to South Africa and Botswana. During the time of this study, some former refugees in Bulilima had varying degrees of success both as livestock farmers

[57] On livestock as a marker of wealth, see for example, Webster Whande, Framing Biodiversity Conservation Discourses in South Africa: Emerging Realities and Conflicting Agendas within the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape, pp. 131-2

[58] ibid

[59] Tshlonipani Ncube, Interview

and small grain producers. Elias Moyo is a successful small grain farmer whilst Mary Tapelo and her husband are specialists in goat production. Although recent scholarship on Bulilima and the neighbouring Mangwe districts has pointed to a growing reliance on Mopani worms as a source of economic livelihoods,[60] it seems such a reliance is more of a post-1990 phenomenon as it was not mentioned in our interviews for the study as having been a source of economic livelihoods for returning refugees and people in general in the early years of independence. If there is anything, the Mopani worms could only have been a source of relish supply for the locals before 1990 than the commercial product they have turned into since post 1990.

Geography also determined regional variations in post-refugee forms of formal employment. Apart from the climate of Mutasa supporting the production of vegetable and fruit products, the area is also home to some of the largest tea plantations in the country namely, the Eastern Highlands and the Katiyo Tea Estates. At the time of this study, only the Eastern highlands plantations were still operational as Katiyo had closed business after Zimbabwe's land reform programs that commenced after 2000. During the time when it was operational, Katiyo Tea Estates provided employment for former refugees such as Gogo Jane and Junior Maboni. For Junior Maboni, Katiyo Tea Estates became her most important source of livelihood after the death of her husband in 1982 forced her to become the sole provider for her family. Similarly, when Peter Makureya and Simon Gutsaru's troubles with the law ended, they too and their families also found employment at Katiyo Tea Estates.

At Katiyo, women were mostly employed to pick tea leaves whilst men like Gutsaru and Makureya were employed to use their skills in making bamboo baskets used for picking tea leaves. Both Simon Gutsaru and Peter Makureya alongside other former refugees in the Mandeya area of the Honde Valley such as Pios Makoto still rely on their basket making skill as a source of livelihood. On the other hand, in Bulilima, the region's proximity to South Africa and Botswana resulted in most of the former refugees seeking employment there. Although there was a gender dimension in the migratory trends to South Africa in that those

[60] Mkhokheli Ncube, Managing Common Pool Resources: Local Environmental Knowledge and Power Dynamics in Mopane Worms and Mopane Woodlands Management: The Case of Bulilima District, South-Western Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2016 and Iphithule Ndlovu et al 'Land use-Land cover changes and Mopani worm harvest in Mangwe District in Plumtree, Zimbabwe', *Environmental Systems Research,* Vol. 8. No. 11 (2019) pp. 2-9

who travelled were mostly male, Eneris Ncube left her husband in 1986 and trekked to South Africa.

There were also other forms of livelihood for former refugees like Temba Male who continued with teaching work as she had done whilst at Victory Camp in Zambia. In independent Zimbabwe, Male was employed as a temporary teacher from independence until 1992. She never got to be trained as a qualified teacher for "she only had four ordinary level passes which were not enough to enrol at a teacher's training college."[61] Malachi Nkomo is also another former refugee who pursued his education further in independent Zimbabwe and went on to train as a school teacher. To achieve that, Nkomo just like Buyile Dube and other former refugee children who were coming from the camps in Zambia, was enrolled in JZ Moyo, a ZIMFEP school that was established soon after independence. Although Nkomo failed his ordinary level examinations in 1983, he nevertheless joined the migrations to South Africa to look for employment to enable him to raise funds to rewrite his ordinary level examinations. After finding employment to "herd goats in South Africa," Malakibungu was able to raise the required funds and sat for his examinations again in 1984. After succeeding, he then worked as a temporary teacher first before training to be a qualified school teacher, a job that is still the main source of his livelihood in the present.

Although they were national in character, it seems that there were variations in terms of the manner in which repatriating refugees enrolled in ZIMFEP programs. For instance, whereas the idea seems to have been more prominent to refugees who were coming from Zambian camps, the same gesture was not extended to those who were coming from Dukwi as there were no reports during the interviews of refugees from Botswana having enrolled in such schools. The same seems to be true of Mutasa district where the Samushonga and Mharapara families did not mention the ZIMFEP program as having been instrumental in the education of their children despite having had school going children in 1980 when they returned from Mozambican camps.

Although from 1980 onwards, the former refugees pursued their own livelihoods without raising any complaints against the government, episodes of discontentment began to emerge after 2000. Again, there was a variation with regards to sections of refugees who publicly expressed their discontentment. Since 2000, there has been a growing feeling amongst former

[61] Temba Male, Interview

refugees who had resided in camps during the war that they were not being treated fairly. The causative reason for the discontentment was that in 1997, the Zimbabwe government made a decision to reward people who had been former fighters in the liberation war with some hefty gratuities. This was followed by concessions of land extended to the same veterans through the fast track land reform program that took place at the beginning of 2000. These developments were not received well by the former camp refugees who felt that their experiences were similar in nature to those of the war veterans. Some of the former refugees such Marian Tsoro argue that government should consider her shrapnel injuries sustained during the war as evidence of participation in the war. Other arguments have been forwarded in support of why refugees' experiences must not be treated differently from those of war combatants. Roy Ndlovu explained his own arguments to Senzeni Khumalo:

> You have asked me about our experiences in the bush [in refugee camps]. When we were there, it wasn't about who was it that was holding the gun and who did not. So, what happened was that when we came back home there was apartheid to say who are the ones *abaphatha umbhobho* and *labangaphathi umbhobho* (those who held the guns and those who did not). When we were there in the bush, let's take for example Smith's flying machines. Had we been bombed there, were the planes going to select between those who were holding the guns and those who were not? Were they going to leave out others? Everyone was going to be affected. So, the situation that we have is that we have a Party that has divided its children. Its behaviour is like that of a parent who has two children but prefers the one who is gainfully employed saying the unemployed one is not my child. They are all your children. The war veteran is your child and the refugee is also your child. So, for some of us who didn't succeed to get money [gratuities from the government] we are very angry about that and the party is going to lose [2018 elections] because of such behaviour.[62]

Supporting the Roy Ndlovu's line of argument, Winnet Mutamiswa did not only point to the promises they had been given whilst in camps but she also raised some sentiments which renders the post-colonial identity of former combatants questionable. According to her arguments:

> When we were at Doroi they used to tell us that in Zimbabwe *tose tichadya tichiguta* (all of us shall have enough to eat and shall not starve). But it has not been like that. We are suffering…. However as for the man who impregnated me in the camp, the late father of my first child, that one was lucky. I don't know how he managed to do it. At the end of the war when we were at Nyadire [Nyadire assembly point], I don't know how he managed to convince them that he was a trained guerrilla and hence he joined the army [Zimbabwe National Army] and in due process, became a war

[62] Roy Ndlovu, Interview

> veteran, but surprisingly, we were together at the refugee camp at Doroi. So, for him, he benefited.[63]

Although former refugees in postcolonial Zimbabwe have not been able to organise a national body to challenge their claims of exclusions as reflected in the sentiments of Marian Tsoro, Roy Ndlovu and Winnet Mutamiswa above, the MRA seems to be one such organisation that has publicly done so. Formed in 2003 just after Zimbabwe's controversial land reform programmes in 2000, the MRA aimed among other things, to pressurise the government for compensation and recognition in the same way as the nationalists and war veterans.[64] Apart from maintaining a register of all former refugees in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, the organisation has also been gathering resources through collecting monies from its membership for purposes of sending delegations to Harare to air their grievances to government officials. However, according to the organisation's chairperson Mgwazo Dube, the delegation they sent to Harare was told by the "ZANU PF government that they were not prepared to listen to their grievances as refugees." Rather, according to Dube, the government was only prepared to engage with them if they join the ranks of the Zimbabwe Liberation War Collaborators Association (ZILWACO).[65]

From a historical perspective, the ZANU PF government's insistence to negotiate with refugees through an "other," ZILWACO, is surprising. This is because, in the history of the anti-Rhodesia struggles, the war collaborators, the boys and girls, *vana chimbwido naana mujibha* had different functions. The collaborators referred to boys and girls who had assisted the guerrillas internally, inside Zimbabwe during the war and, although the refugees interacted with former combatants in ways explained elsewhere in this thesis, the fact remains they were not war collaborators. Theirs was a situation of people who had fled from the problems and war in Rhodesia. Therefore, the government's insistence for refugees to transform into war collaborators[66] can only be interpreted as another form of postcolonial reconstruction of history.

---

[63] Winnet Mutamiswa, Interview, Mandeya 1, Nyatwe, Mutasa,

[64] Madhlambudzi Refugees Association register

[65] Mgwazo Dube, Interview with Blessed Magadzike, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima, 28 August 2017

[66] Although refugees in Masendu area have not organised themselves into an association like their counterparts in Madhlambudzi, Christopher Nyoni's sentiments that "our party ZANU PF want us to be war corroborators" is ample evidence of attempts to universalise the idea by ZANU PF government.

Apart from organizing refugees as means to improve post refugee livelihoods through expected government support, it seems that participation in contemporary political activities has also been one of the livelihood strategies that refugees adopted in their post war continuities. Such participation in politics by alleged former refugees helped to heighten tensions between them and those who were former combatants in the liberation struggle for Zimbabwe. In post-2000 Zimbabwe history, Mandiitawepi Chimene is one such individual whose participation in politics has often been tied together with a refugee status and this is despite her vehement denial of the same. In 2000, Chimene contested for the Mutasa North Parliamentary seat on a ZANU PF ticket and lost to the Movement for Democratic Party (MDC) candidate. In 2013, she changed constituencies and contested in Makoni South and was elected as Member Parliament (MP) on a ZANU PF ticket. After her election, she was further appointed to be a Provincial Minister of State or Governor for the Manicaland Province by President Robert Mugabe. However, in 2015 at the height of the ZANU PF struggles to succeed an aging Robert Mugabe, Chimene's alleged status was brought to the fore through two incidences. The first was a recorded audio message in which a party colleague Oppah Muchinguri-Kashiri was overheard proposing to get Chimene fired from her position in government. However, it was when responding to Muchinguri-Kashiri's alleged plotting that Chimene sought to publicly address the allegations of her being a refugee which Muchinguri had packaged in her audio statement through suggesting that Chimene was a young child during the war. In Zimbabwe after independence, in the Shona language, whenever a person is referred to as *waita mwana mudiki* (you are a young child) what it means is that one is not qualified to discuss certain issues because either they were not there or they were young when such events were taking place. As such those individuals cannot say anything acceptable about the issue under discussion. Chimene responded to those allegations as follows:

> She (Muchinguri-Kashiri) has been saying a lot about my life but I am not moved by it. She said I was young during the war but to be honest I was an active cadre. I suffered during the struggle and today I am still serving. I went through what every cadre went through during the war.[67]

The accusations of Chimene's war time background resurfaced again in 2016 after she attempted to grab the chairpersonship of the war veterans association from the organisation's

[67] 'Minister Chimene savages Muchinguri as Zanu PF factionalism gets dirtier' *Pazimbabwe*, 1 August 2015. Accessed online https://www.pazimbabwe.com/zimbabwe-6894-chimene-undresses-oppah-muchinguri.html

elected leader, Christopher Mutsvangwa.[68] Mutsvangwa only survived through Justice Helena Chalewa's High Court judgement delivered on the 25th October 2017 which ruled that he was the legitimately elected leader of the organisation.[69] It was in the midst of these battles for control of the war veterans association that General Chiwenga issued a statement on refugees that has been discussed in chapter 1 of this thesis. Although Chiwenga had not mentioned Chimene by name, her response captured by the press suggested that she was responding to Chiwenga. She responded:

> If people don't know what happened during the war maybe they did not really take part in it. The fact is that there was no one camp and neither was there one gate. We had different camps and so we could not all know each other. I was never a cleaner and I do not think he (Chiwenga) meant me. I trained first as a nurse and went to security. I was at Mavhudzi and those who want to know more about me should ask about Rumbidzai Courage Muhondo. That was my name. I went to war in 1976 after the Nyadzonia massacre.[70]

The contests between Chimene and her detractors only ended when Robert Mugabe was replaced as ZANU leader through a military intervention that was led by Chiwenga in November 2017. Chimene and other staunch supporters of Robert Mugabe who were in government who included ministers, Jonathan Moyo, Ignatious Chombo, Saviour Kasukuwere, Patrick Zhuwao and Walter Mzembi were then fired from ZANU PF before dismissal from government.[71] Chimene then fled to exile reported as Mozambique and thereby bringing to an end exchanges that confirmed three things. Firstly, it confirmed Bozzoli's assertion that "unlike those who dominate society, oppressed people are not often able to choose and shape the institutions within which they live."[72] Secondly, the exchanges rendered refugeeness as something that was both associated with permanency and unwanted. Hence for high ranking officials in government, if one was a former refugee, their

---

[68] 'Mutsvangwa expelled by Mandi Chimene', *Zim Daily*

[69] Daniel Sibanda, 'High Court confirms Mutsvangwa as legitimate leader of war vets', *Myzimbabwe news*. Accessed online https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/7731-high-court-confirms-mutsvangwa-as-legitimate-leader-of-war-vets.html

[70] Fungi Kwaramba, 'We're not fazed by army threats', *The Daily News*, 12 August 2016. Accessed online https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2016/08/12/we-re-not-fazed-by-army-threats-chimene See also, Blessed Mahlanga, 'Chimene responds to Chiwenga attack', The Standard, 14 August 2016. Accessed online https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2016/08/14/chimene-responds-chiwenga-attack/

[71] Maynard Manyowa, 'Ruling Zanu PF bans Grace for life, expels several powerful figures', *Khuluma Africa*, 19 November 2017. Accessed online https://khulumaafrika.com/2017/11/19/ruling-zanu-pf-bans-grace-life-expels-several-powerful-figures/

[72] Belinda Bozzolli with Mmantho Nkotsoe, *Women of Phokeng: Consciousness, Life Strategy and Migrancy in South Africa 1900-1983* (Johannesburg: Raven Press, 1991)

participation in political debates was to be regulated. Lastly, the exchanges confirmed that in post colonial Zimbabwe, the issue citizenship did not mean anything to both warring parties. The issue of citizenship as the highest marker of one's belonging to any nation state was never invoked to shape the debate that the two parties were engaging in. Instead, what was invoked to define senses of belonging by the two parties were the catergories that were created by the war.

7.4 Conclusion

This chapter provided evidence of the repatriation patterns of former refugees from sites of refuge. The chapter showed that there were different rehabilitation patterns which varied according to the site of refuge each concerned refugee was coming from. Refugees who were coming from camps in Mozambique were targeted for rehabilitation subsidies that were not available to other categories of refugees such as the self-settled ones. The same variations were also observed for the refugees who were coming from sites in Botswana and Zambia. Whereas school going refugees coming from Zambia based camps were repatriated directly to ZIMFEP schools, the same privilege was not extended to those who were coming from Botswana camps. The chapter also showed that when refugees who had been conscripted by RENAMO were repatriated to Zimbabwe, they were violently rehabilitated into society. This was contrary to assertions in historical representations about the non-violent nature of both the repatriation and rehabilitation exercises. In fact, in cases where issues of harassment were captured in historical literature, perpetration was attributed to the dethroned Rhodesia state.[73] Evidence was also provided on the inadequate rehabilitation assistance that was extended to all refugees. However, disaster in the magnitude of the one observed by Hendrie on Tigrayn refugees upon their repatriation to Ethiopia,[74] however, was averted in both case study areas after the repatriating refugees adopted livelihood strategies that ensured a starvation free rehabilitation process. The several livelihood strategies adopted by the former refugees included getting assistance from family members who had remained "emplaced" and by exploiting the geographical advantages of their respective areas. It was also found out that in as much as the war that had uprooted the refugees was over, the notion of a refugee has

[73] Jeremy Jackson, 'Repatriation and Reconstruction in Zimbabwe during the 1980s', in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, UNRISD, 1994, pp. 126-166

[74] Barbara Hendrie, 'The Politics of Repatriation: The Tygrayan Refugee Repatriation 1985-1987', *The Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 4 No. 2 (1991) pp. 200-218

continued to be invoked in the post-colony in the present either by the refugees themselves or by other people. In each case in which the notion of a refugee is invoked in the post-colony, what emerges is a reconstruction of history that contradicts the refugees lived experiences and thereby creating other forms of misrepresentations. This is because rather than construct the histories from lived experiences of refugees, the history is interpreted in terms of contemporary events such as tensions among categories created by the war such as refugee or combatant as well through contemporary political developments. However, the problems that lead to these forms of misrepresentations can be averted through displacing those categories that were created by the war and replace them citizen, the highest form of one's belonging to a nation state.

GENERAL CONCLUSION

In ending the main discussions of this thesis (Chapter 7), I decided to take my readers through a journey of the most recent debates constructed around the notion of who was a refugee during Zimbabwe's liberation war. The intention was to make my readers reflect on the history of a refugee being produced through the interchange between Mandiitawepi Chimene, a former high-ranking political figure in Zimbabwe, and other political elites who included General Constantine Guvheya Nyikadzino Chiwenga, a high-ranking military figure until November 2017 and now the country's vice president. Indeed, the interchange between Chimene and her detractors as well as the work of the Madhlambudzi Refugees Association (MRA) also discussed in that section of Chapter 7 equates to sites of historical knowledge production. For this study, it is from sites like these that we are witnessing firsthand, the writing of a history of a refugee in the present. However, as we have seen from both the exchanges and the work of MRA, the refugee figure that is being produced from those sites is a figure who is being displaced and continuously replaced with other meanings. The reason why these sites are participating in the production of a conflicted refugee figure is that, instead of critically engaging with the question of who was a refugee during the war, it is contemporary political and economic developments that are being used as discursive tools to understand the wartime refugee.

What is happening with contemporary productions of history is also what happened in the past when historical representations of refugees were being constructed after Zimbabwe's independence. Most post-colonial historical literature came up with representations of a refugee that were supposed to fit within a nationalist paradigm of liberation. Hence, assertions were made to the effect that most former refugees who fled Zimbabwe had done so with the intention of participating in the liberation struggle. These assertions, as discussed in Chapter 1, were made whilst negating the fact that multiple factors could have led people to contemplate life as refugees. Against this background, this study has dealt with the problems in representations of former refugees in various spheres of historical representation. The rewriting of the histories of refugees was primarily informed by the conviction that if conflicts still exist in the meaning of a refugee, such problems can only be attributed to literature that initially provided the initial representations. The failure of such literature to address issues of identity that are still being debated means that there is need to rewrite the concerned history. Through rewriting, the conflcted identity of refugee will be liberated. I

embarked on this rewriting exercise by identifying first the nature and content of those problems that are still bedeviling the field of refugees' representations in Chapter 1. This was done by simultaneously acknowledging forms of existing historical representations of refugees and pointing out the weaknesses therein.

As with the contemporary representations of refugees being produced at the two contemporary historical knowledge producing sites described above, it was found that most of the problems associated with the production of earlier weak representations of refugees stemmed from methodological approaches that were initially deployed as investigative tools in previous quests to understand refugees. In this regard, Chapter 2 identified the oral history approach as one method that can assist in constructions of what qualifies as more comprehensive histories of refugees. The selection of oral history method was a result of its prioritization of assertions observed in leading oral history literature that we can only understand the meaning of events through getting directions from people who experienced them. Hence, through identification of case study areas that were affected the most by the war, it was possible to find respondents who were prepared to share their life experiences during Zimbabwe's war of liberation. The representative biographies of the nine respondents who were identified from the two case study areas of Mutasa and Bulilima Districts were then presented in chapter 3 of this study.

The mini biographies presented in Chapter 3 illustrated the variations in the factors that led people from different geographical locations of Zimbabwe to become refugees. Drawing on Portelli's observations about Ferrucio Mauri and the differences in the meaning of a given subject to individuals, the biographies demonstrated that there is no uniform experience and perception of an event. As Portelli's Mauri demonstrated, when Benito Mussolini, the Italian ruler of the time, announced Italy's entry into the war in 1942, Mauri recalled being excited about the war while others around him were deeply worried. Just like Mauri who had a different perspective of the war, the nine biographies introduced the varying reasons people contemplated fleeing in the first place before ending up in different spaces of refuge. It is the differences in these perceptions and experiences of war that, as I argue in this thesis, they constitute the multiple dimensions that the refugee problem took during the war.
Another issue with existing literature of Zimbabwean refugees of the war was the association of the problem with the post 1975 historical developments in the then Rhodesia. What this present study has demonstrated in Chapter 4 is that, by 1975 the refugee problem had entered

a second phase. The first phase started in early 1960s when we begin to see people who left Rhodesia being referred to as refugees. This was before the decision to resort to an armed struggle was taken. Testimonies reflected in the work of Chenhamo Chimutengwende and Joshua Mpofu in Chapter 4 gave varying reasons for the decisions to seek refuge outside the country.

In direct opposition to the views of Makanya and Sadomba which claimed that it was liberation consciousness that gave rise to refugee populations who fled Rhodesia, what we see from the 1960s refugees' experiences were processes in which several methods were used to entice refugees to participate in the liberation struggles of their countries. The liberation struggles as Chapter 4 discussed, were not only confined to Rhodesia but to different countries in Southern Africa and hence we see issues like scholarships being used to entice refugees to participate in the struggles of their countries. Global organisations such as the World University Services (WSU), the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), Southern African Student Program (SASP) and African American institute (AIA) among others, were actively involved in negotiating with the refugees on how to relate to the notion of liberation. The involvement of these organisations in debates about refugees during the 1960s gives another dimension which emphasises the argument forwarded in this study about the broadness of the refugee phenomena. When these acts of refugee politicisation continued to take place up to 1980 through the activities of political actors as later discussed in Chapter 7, it must be viewed as representing the continuation of interactive processes that had their roots in the 1960s.

Nonetheless, it was not until the mid-1970s when both ZIPRA and ZANLA guerrillas and the RSF adopted new ways of fighting in the struggle such as those that had been used in the Chinese revolution by the Chinese Communist Party as well as the initiation of the Protected Village (PV) system that had been used by the British in Malaya that we began to see another dimension emerging in refugee trends of the 1970s. When the war intensified in the 1970s, its main concentration was the rural areas of the then Rhodesia due to the fact that these rural areas were used by the guerrillas as bases to launch their war. It was this approach by the guerrillas that forced their opponents, the RSF, to deploy their forces there and to adopt responsive methods such as the PV. This further translated into rural areas, especially those that were located in border regions such as Mutasa District and Bulilima to become the most affected ones.

Whilst it has been the tendency of most postcolonial Zimbabwean historical representations to portray the liberation war as one in which both the peasants and the guerrillas regarded Rhodesian rule as something which had to be fought, evidence presented in Chapter 4 proved to the contrary. As the discussions of that chapter demonstrated, the extent of peasant awareness as observed in the respective works of Makanya and Sadomba as well as Ranger and Lan before them have often been over emphasised. In fact, the findings of Chapter 4 buttressed the studies of Kriger as well as Moorcraft and McLaughlin who all reminded us to understand war consciousness in people as a process rather than a swiftly accepted idea or an already existing one. As the discussions of Chapter 4 further demonstrated, the first group of the local peasantry to flee in Mutasa did not flee from war *per se* and neither had they been in contact with the guerrillas. Instead, it was the Rhodesian plans to initiate PVs in Mutasa district that triggered the first waves of refugee flights from the area. When the guerrillas arrived in the district, they did not see a peasantry that was ready to accept their ideas. Instead, this was negotiated through several tactics that included politicisation and violence and achieved varying degrees of success. Instead of emphasising the political consciousness of the peasantry as something that led to refugee flights, what needs to be understood, as proved in Chapter 4, is that upon the intensification of the war, insecurities were created in the rural areas thereby causing the flights that followed those caused by the earlier creation of PVs. The dimensions of the refugee problem also varied from place to place. In Mutasa, three different types of people movement were witnessed and illustrated in Chapter 4. The first involved those who fled the country into Mozambique who are the subjects of this study; the second constituted those who were shepherded into the PVs; and the last group constituted those who fled to urban centres. On the western side of the country where there were no PVs and, as observed from oral testimonies collected in Bulilima district, most people crossed the border into Botswana due to several reasons. These reasons included kidnappings, those who were fleeing from the war or social problems as well as those who had intentions to participate in the struggle.

Another issue of contention that had been prevalent in the historical literature of refugees that has been addressed in this thesis concerns the writing of history especially on Rhodesia's relationship with the refugees while they were in spaces of refuge. This, as observed by Jackson, has resulted in postcolonial historical literature being sharply divided between those who sought to exonerate the activities of Rhodesia and those who advocated for the Rhodesia state to be tried for its acts of brutality on people who were in refugee camps and other sites.

However, both forms of literature have often engaged in this debate without substantiating their arguments with the input of people who resided in those camps as refugees. Thus, using testimonies from former refugees at Nyadzonia camp, Chapter 5 produced evidence that guerrillas and refugees coexisted and interacted at Nyadzonia before the Rhodesian attacks. Whilst acknowledging the brutal nature of the Rhodesian attacks, it was also noted in Chapter 5 that the UNHCR and the FRELIMO government who had maintained a presence at the camp, were also equally at fault when they allowed guerrillas and refugees to coexist in one space, a move that gave the Rhodesian Selous Scouts an excuse to attack the camp. For the former Rhodesia refugees in Mozambique, the issue of coexistence was later addressed with the establishment of the Doroi refugee camp to replace Nyadzonia and to house refugees only. At Doroi, unlike at Nyadzonia, the interactions between the refugees and the guerrillas were limited to the aspect of sharing food aid that was donated by the donor community led by organisations such as the UNHCR.

While the issue of self-settled refugees has often been mentioned in historical literature, it has also been done by just mentioning that self-settled refugees existed without giving much detail about their experiences in those spaces. The histories of the self-settled refugees as explained in Chapter 5 goes beyond the mere aspect of settling in places like Nyandiro, Makore, Timba, Nenhanga and Mabota, names of chieftainships where the greater number of those who participated in this study settled. Instead, it was whilst they were in those spaces that some of them got involved in the Mozambican conflict that had broken out immediately after Mozambique had attained its independence from Portugal in 1975 and just after most of the refugees started settling there. In terms of its conduct, the conflict that embroiled the refugees in Mozambique was triangular by nature as it pitted FRELIMO and RENAMO as well as Rhodesia against each other. Rhodesia's involvement was through the support it rendered to RENAMO as well as through the raids that they conducted in Mozambican villages. The Rhodesian raids further destabilised the refugee populations that were in Mozambique and also contributed to heightening tensions between the refugees and their Mozambican host villagers who sometimes attributed their predicament to the presence of the refugees from Rhodesia. RENAMO further destabilised the refugees by conscripting some of them into its ranks. The activities of RENAMO also stroked tensions between some of the refugees and FRELIMO who sometimes demanded that they report the activities of RENAMO to them. Through these acts of destabilisation, some of the refugees began to return to Rhodesia to the PV system that some of them had initially fled, triggering the

repatriation movements of refugees that predates the UNHCR assisted repatriations that took place just before the 1980 elections and afterwards.

Whereas the Mozambican Frelimo government as well as the traditional leaders there might have permitted refugee self-settlement to take place, in Botswana the situation was different as discussions in Chapter 6 revealed. In Botswana, the system that prevailed there was one that heavily involved the traditional leaders of the areas close to the Rhodesian border. Unlike Mozambique where the traditional authorities might have acted independently of the central government in Maputo, in Botswana, the activities of the traditional leaders were regulated and monitored by central government in Gaborone, and they were obliged to implement government policy. For the refugees, although Botswana had portrayed itself to the outside world as a country that only assisted refugees to transit to Zambia before the establishment of Dukwi refugee camp in 1978, what this study revealed is that contrary to such assertions, Botswana's main concern was to see the nationalist organisations dethrone the Rhodesia state. In Botswana, the term refugee was just a facade tailor-made to avoid direct confrontation with the much more powerful Rhodesia state. In fact, as argued in Chapter 6, the Botswana government pursued its desire to see Rhodesia liberated by participating in a process of refugee conditioning. In this regard, refugee conditioning was a process whereby everyone coming from Rhodesia was conditioned to abandon whatever purpose they would have intended to pursue in Botswana. As a result, through the activities of the traditional leaders as well as that of Makepisi, a former ZAPU commander for its southern region, refugees were obliged to focus their attention on the liberation goal. With such a focus Botswana ensured that the refugees who proceeded to Zambia were an almost finished product in terms of understanding the aims of liberation. Thus, in essence, the refugee regime in Botswana was closely linked to that of Zambia. Certain aspects of the system were only discontinued in 1978 as the refugees who were selected to proceed to Zambia were being selected on the basis of loyalty. This issue of loyalty to liberation ideals was only introduced by ZAPU as a response to Rhodesia's continued bombings of refugee sites in Zambia as they suspected that Rhodesia was filtering agents under the guise of refugees. However, the fact that refugees were later selected on the basis of loyalty, as revealed in the oral sources, buttresses the central argument maintained in this thesis that liberation consciousness was not the only driving factor that gave rise to refugee populations. Instead, there were processes involved which also determined the nature of interactions that took place between military and political actors with the refugees.

Throughout the thesis in maintaining the argument that there was no singular refugee experience but a multiplicity of them, my desire is to excavate refugees' experiences as a way of enhancing ways of knowing the refugee. As such, I concluded my assessment by also looking at the questions related to their return home to Zimbabwe and their subsequent continuities thereafter. In exploring these trends, the approach that I used was one that prioritised the primacy of the refugee. Thus, apart from examining the UNHCR supervised repatriations, I also looked at how the self-settled refugees and those refugees who had been entangled in the Mozambican conflict through conscription into RENAMO returned home. Again, in line with the central argument of the thesis, in as much as there were variations in the experiences of refugees whilst in spaces of refuge, there were also variations in the ways in which all the refugees returned home and rehabilitated back into society. This was extended to the various livelihood strategies adopted by the former refugees with some of those livelihood approaches continuing to generate debates about who was a refugee during the war in the present.

Lastly, a key question that emerges or arises [most likely to be asked] is whether this study has liberated the conflicted identity of the refugee. Indeed, as specified in the opening remarks for this conclusion, the whole essence of this thesis was to enable refugees to speak about refugee matters as former refugees and not through an 'other'. By substantiating the arguments of this thesis using the former refugees' testimonies about their own experiences, the thesis brings previously silenced voices to the platform of historical knowledge production.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Archives

Beecroft, Brian. 'Return and resettlement of refugees, 1979-80', unpublished memoirs, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File Oral/242

Chimutengwende, Chen. 'Problems of Southern African Refugees', Unpublished paper, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File MS 589/18

Minutes of a Meeting between the Rev. Canaan Banana and Mr R Byatt at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, June 25 1974, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File Number MS 1082/5/11 (Judith Todd Papers- 1970 September 23- 1974 June 25)

Ranger, Terrence. O. Zimbabwe Medical Aid: Report by T.O. Ranger on Interview with District Commissioner A.B. Masalila, P. Bag 34, Francistown Botswana, Unpublished Report National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File MS 308/29/4

Ranger, Terrence. Summary Report of the Situation of Refugees in Zambia and Botswana, April/May 1978, University of Manchester, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File MS 308/29/4

Rhodesia/Zimbabwe-Appeal by the International Committee of the Red Cross, Geneva, 19 March 1979, National Archives of Zimbabwe Records, File MS 668

Interviews[1]

Interview with Samson Mhukayatadza, 6 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

Interview with Jessica Mhukayatadza, 6 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

Interview with Jane Mharapara, 7 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

Interview with Faith Mutamiswa, 7 September 2016, Subchief Samanga's area, Mutasa

Interview with Winnet Mutamiswa 8 September 2016, Nyatwe Area, Subchief Mandeya 1, Mutasa

Interview with Ronia Samushonga nee Mwamuka, 9 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

Interview with Weston B Samushonga, 9 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

[1] The interview material consists of audio recordings and photographs. These are currently with the author. The author intends to deposit the interview material at a later date to the National Archives of Zimbabwe and the Centre for Popular Memory Studies at the University of Cape Town. Currently, the audio records are available on request from the author to anyone who want to use the them for educational purposes only. This is in line with the agreement entered between the interviewees and the author as reflected on signed interview consent forms

Interview with Esnathy Samushonga nee Nyambuya, 9 September 2016, Subchief Muparutsa's area, Mutasa

Interview with Nelly Tapelo, 24 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Godha Ndlovu, 24 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Senzeni Nyathi, 24 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Eneris Ncube, 25 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Malakibungu Henry Nkomo, 25 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Tsiyetsi Ndlovu, 26 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Themba Male, 26 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Wiseman Nkomo, 26 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Christopher Nyoni, 26 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Elias M. Moyo, 27 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Jeffrey Dube, 27 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Rudolf Moyo, 27 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Phineas Ncube, 27 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Victor Ncube, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Buyile Dube, 28 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Manka Ndlovu, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Roy Ndlovu, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Marko Ndlovu, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Ottilia Ndlovu, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Phumuza Ncube, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Mugwazo Dube, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Maina Sibanda, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Tshlonipani Ncube, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Norman Tshuma, 28 August 2017, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima

Interview with Luwela Sibanda, 29 August 2017, Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima

Interview with Pios Makoto, 8 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Evelyn Makwara, 8 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Peter Makureya, 8 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Katoya Makwara, 8 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Judah M Sifa, 9 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Noah Mangemba' 9 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Marita M Rimao, 9 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Marian Tsoro, 9 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Tendai Jimu, 9 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Simon Gutsaru, 9 September 2017, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Cecilia Saraurayi, 11 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Monica Mudhibhisi, 11 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with David Mutivo, 11 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Alice Chaperuka, 11 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Veronica Maboni, 12 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Tomas Dube, 12 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Junia Maboni, 12 September 2017, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa

Interview with Archwell Masiya, 20 September 2017, Museum of Human Sciences, Harare

Journal Articles and Unpublished Reports

Anderson Katryn et al 'Beginning Where We Are: Feminist Methodology in Oral History', *Oral History Review* Vol 15, No. 1, Fieldwork in Oral History (Spring, 1987), pp. 103-127

Ankersmit, F.R. 'Historical Representations', *History and Theory*, Vol. 1, No. 3 (Oct., 1988), pp. 205-228

Baron, Barnett, F. 'Southern African Student Exiles in the United States: Politics and Personal Needs,' Unpublished Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, Boston, October 21-24, 1970

Brainstov. T. cited in Jackson, Paul. 'The civil war roots of military domination in Zimbabwe: the integration process following the Rhodesian wan and the road to ZANLA dominance, Unpublished paper, University of Birmingham, August 2011

Cao, Christine. 'Abjection and Sadomasochism in Trần Vũ's short stories', *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*, Vol. 3, No. 2 (Summer 2008) pp. 66-100

Chappell, David. 'Active Agents versus Passive Victims: Decolonised Historiography or Problematic Paradigm', *The Contemporary Pacific* Vol. 7 No. 2 (FALL 1995), pp 303-236.

Chomsky, Noam. 'Intellectuals and the Responsibilities of Public Life: Noam Chomsky interviewed by Robert Borofsky', *Public Anthropology* May 2001)

Field, S, 'Turning up the volume: Dialogues about memory create oral histories, *South African Historical Journal*, vol. 60 no. 2, (2008), pp. 1-24

Glattbatch, Jack. The Exodus from Zimbabwe, *UNICEF*, 1979

Hayat, Samuel. 'La representation inclusive' *Raisons Politiques* Vol.2 Number 50 (2013), pp. 115-135.

Hendrie, Barbara 'The Politics of Repatriation: The Tygrayan Refugee Repatriation 1985-1987', *The Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 4 No. 2 (1991) pp. 200-218

Israel, Mark. 'South Africa War Resisters and the Ideologies of Return from Exile', *Journal of Refugee Studies*, Vol. 13 No. 1, 2000, pp. 26-42

Jacqz, Jane.W. 'Refugee Students from Southern Africa: A report of a Workshop on the Training and Utilisation of Refugee Students from Southern Africa sponsored by the African American Institute and Syracuse University at Lubin House, New York City, April 18-19, 1967,' *African American Institute*, 866, UN Plaza, New York (NY) 10017

Jokonya, Tichaona.J.B. 'The Effects of War on the Rural Population of Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Affairs*, Vol. 2 (1980), pp. 137-47

Jones, David. S. 'Traditional Authority and State Administration in Botswana', *Journal of Modern African Studies*, Vol. 21. No. 1 (March 1983), pp. 133-139

Kennedy, David. W, 'International Refugee Protection', *Human Rights Quarterly*, Vol 8 No. 1 (1986), pp 1-69

Kriger, Norma Mobilising for Unity: The Zimbabwe War, Unpublished paper, John Hopkins University

Lippert, Randy. 'Governing Refugees: The Relevance of Governmentality to Understanding the International Refugee Regime' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, Vol. 24, No. 3, (July-Sept. 1999) pp. 295-328.

Lomsky-Feder, Edna. 'Life Stories, War, and Veterans: On the Social Distribution of Memories', *Ethos*, Vol. 32, Number 1 (March, 2004), pp. 82-109

Lorwin, Val.R 'The comparative analysis of historical change: nation-building in the Western world', *International Social Science Journal, UNESCO*, Vol. XVII, No. 4 (1965) pp. 594-605

Löwy, Michael. 'Walter Benjamin and Marxism' *Monthly Review: An Independent Socialist Magazine*, Vol. 46, Issue Number 9 (February, 1995)

Makgala C.J. and Fisher, L.M 'The Impact of Zimbabwean liberation Struggle on Botswana: The case of Lesoma ambuish, 1978', *New Contree*, No. 57 (May 2009)

Malkki, Liisa. H 'Refugees and Exile: From "Refugee Studies" to the National Order of Things,' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, Vol. 24 (1995), pp. 495-523.

Malkki, L.A. 'Speechless Emissaries Refugees, Humanitarianism, and Dehistoricisation', *Journal of Cultural Anthropology*, Vol. II. No. 3 (August 1996)

Marflet, Philip. 'Refugees and history: Why we must address the past' *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2007), pp. 136-148.

Mazarire, Gerald 'Discipline in ZANLA: 1964-79', *Journal of African Studies* (September 2011), pp. 571-591

Meadie, H.M.T. 'The Origin and Universality of Taboo and Totemism', *The Native Affairs Departmental Annual*, No. 1 (December 1923), pp. 73-79

Migdal, Joel cited in Desai, Raj and Eckstein, Harry. 'The Transformation of Peasant Rebellion', *World Politics*, Vol. 42, No. 4 (July 1990), pp. 441-465.

Migdal, Joel cited in Skocpol, Theda. 'Review Article: What Makes Peasants Revolutionary?' *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 14, Number 3. (April 1982), pp. 351-375

Moore, David. 'The Zimbabwe People's Army moment in Zimbabwean history, 1975-1977: Mugabe's rise and democracy's demise', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vo.32, No. 3 (2014), pp. 302-318

Mozambican Information Agency and Dzinashe Machingura, 'The Zimbabwe People's Army: An Interview with Dzinashe Machingura', *Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 7 No. 1 (Spring, 1977), pp. 15-18

Munguambe, C.V. 'Nationalism and Exile in an Age of Solidarity: Frelimo-ZANU relations in Mozambique (1975-1980)', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 1 (2017), pp 161-178

Ndlovu Iphithule et al 'Land use-Land cover changes and Mopani worm harvest in Mangwe District in Plumtree, Zimbabwe', *Environmental Systems Research*, Vol. 8. No. 11 (2019), pp. 2-9

Newman, Robert. S. 'Objectivity and Subjectivities: Oral Narratives from Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam' *The Oral History Review*, Vol. 21, No. 2, (Winter 1993), pp. 89-97

Oloka-Onyango, Joel. 'The Place and Role of the OAU Bureau for Refugees in African Refuge Crisis', *International Journal of Refugee Law*, Vol. 6. No. 1 (1994), pp. 34-52

Parsons, Neil. 'The pipeline: Botswana's reception of refugees, 1956–68', *Social Dynamics* Vol. 34, No. 1, (March 2008) pp. 17–32

Phimister, Ian and Raftopoulos, Brian, 'Desperate Days in Zimbabwe', *Review of African Political Economy*, Vol. 34, No. 113, Imperial, Neo-Liberal Africa? (Sep., 2007), pp. 573-580

Powell, N.K. 'The UNCHR and the Zimbabwean Refugees in Mozambique, 1975-1980', *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 32 Number 4, (2013), pp 41-65

Ranger, Terrence. O, 'Nationalist Historiography, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation: The Struggle over the Past in Zimbabwe', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Vol. 30, Number 2 (June 2004), pp 215-234

Rhodesian Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly, Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament Comprising period from 22ns June 1976 to 30th July 1976, Vol. 93 (22nd of June to 30th July 1976), p 40

Rhodesian Parliamentary Debates, House of Assembly Third Session, Thirteenth Parliament Comprising period from 31 August to 10th September 1976 and 15th February, 1977 to 4th March, 1977, Volume 95, 1976

Reynolds, Robert 'Trauma and The Relational Dynamics of Life-History Interviewing', *Australian Historical Studies* Vol. 43 Number 1 (2012), pp78-88

Roper, Michael 'The Unconscious Work of History', *Cultural and Social History*, Volume 11, Issue 2, (2014) pp. 169-193

Salehyan, Idean 'The Externalities of Civil Strife: Refugees as a Source of International Conflict', *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (October 2008)

Seanwright, Jason and Gerring, John. 'Case Selection Techniques in Case Study Research: A Menu of Qualitative and Quantitative Options', *Political Research Quarterly* Vol 61 No. 2 (June 2008), pp. 294-308

Sharpe, Marina. 'Organisation of African Union Engagement with Refugee Protection:1963-2011', *African Journal of International and Comparative Law*, Vol. 21, No. 1 (2013), pp. 50-94

Sunjic, Melita, 'Feature: Botswana camp captures history of Southern Africa', *UNICEF*, 16 February 2004

Turton, David, Conceptualising Forced Migration, *RSC* Working Paper No. 12 (2003)

White, Hayden. 'The Value of Narrativity in the Representation of Reality', *Critical Inquiry*, Vol. 7, No. 1, On Narrative (Autumn, 1980), pp. 5-27.

Wood, E.J. 'The Social Processes of Civil War: The Wartime Transformation of Social Networks', *Annual Review of Political Science,* Number 11 (March 2008) pp 539-61

Zetterqvist, Jenny. Refugees in Botswana in light of International Law *(Report number 87),* Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala 1990

Books and Book Chapters

Alderman, H. 'The Use and Abuse of Refugees in Zaire', in Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics and the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington, DC: Bookings Institution Press, 2003)

Alexander, Jocylene Political Change in Manica Province, Mozambique: Implications for the Decentralization of Power, (Oxford: Oxford University, 1995)

Ashplant T. G., et al, The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration : Contexts, structures and dynamics", in T. G Ashplant, et al (eds) *The Politics of War Memory and Commemoration,* (London and New York : Routledge, 2000)

Baxter, Peter. *Rhodesia: Last Outpost of the British Empire 1890-1980* (South Africa: Galago Publishing, 1999)

Benjamin, Walter. 'On the Concept of History' in Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings (eds) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 4, 1938-1940,* (Belknap Press of Howard University Press: United States, 2002)

Benjamin, Walter. 'Paralipomena to "On the Concept of History"' in Howard Eiland and Michael Jennings (eds) *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings Volume 4, 1938-1940,* (United States: Belknap Press of Howard University Press, 2002)

Bhebe, Ngwabi. *The ZAPU and ZANU Guerrilla Warfare and the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Zimbabwe,* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 2000)

Bird, Ed. *The Special Branch War: Slaughter in the Rhodesian Bush Southern Matabeleland, 1976-1980,* (Durban, Kwazulu-Natal: Pine Town Printers, 2013)

Blackburn, Kelvin ‘History from Above: The use of Oral History in Shaping Collective Memory in Singapore’, in Paula Hamilton and Linda Shopes (eds) *Oral History and Public Memories* (Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2008)

Bozzolli, Belinda ‘Interviewing the Women of Phokeng: Consciousness and gender, insider and outsider’ in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Brownell, J. *The collapse of Rhodesia: Population Demographics and the Politics of Race,* (United States and Canada: Pelgrave Macmillan, 2001)

Budd, A. ‘Preface’ in Adam Budd (eds) *The Modern Historiography Reader: Western Sources* (London and New York: Routledge, 2009)

Chung, Fay. ‘Education with Production before and after Independence’, in Canaan S Banana (eds), *Turmoil and Tenacity*: *Zimbabwe 1890-1990,* (Harare: The College Press, 1989)

Chung, Fay ‘‘Education and the liberation Struggle’ in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (eds), *Society in Zimbabwe’s liberation War* (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995)

Chung, Fay. *Reliving the Second Chimurenga: Memories from Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle,* (Harare: Weaver Press, 1996)

Cooper, Frederick. ‘The Dialectics of Decolonization: Nationalism and Labor Movements in Postwar French Africa’ in in Fredrick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler (eds) *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World,* (Berkeley, Los Angeles and London: University of California Press, 1997)

Dabengwa, Dumiso. ‘ZIPRA in the Zimbabwe War of National Liberation’, in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger (eds) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe’s Liberation Struggle* (London: James Currey, Portsmouth: Heinemann, Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995)

Dale, Richard *Botswana’s search for Autonomy in Southern Africa* (Westport, CT, London: Greenwood Press, 1995)

Denis, Philippe. ‘Ethics of Oral History’, in Philippe Denis and Radikobo Ntsimane (eds) *Oral History in a Wounded Country: Interactive Interviewing in South Africa* (South Africa: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, 2008)

Department of Research and Information of Z.A.P.U, *Massacres of Zimbabwean Refugees in Refugee Camps,* Department of Research and Information of Z.A.P.U – (Z.I.R.I.C): Lusaka, Zambia, No Date

Dudley, Kathryn. M. ‘In the Archive, In the Field: What Kind of Document is ‘Oral History’?’ in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) *Narrative and Genre: Contexts and Types of Communication* (New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2009)

Ellert, Henrik. *The Rhodesian Front War: Counter Insurgency and Guerrilla Warfare in Rhodesia, 1962-1980* (Mambo Press: Gweru, 1993)

Field, Sean. ‘Imagining Communities: Memory, Loss and Resilience in Post-Apartheid Cape Town’, in (Third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Foucault, M. ‘The order of discourse’, in R. Young (Ed) *(1981), Untying the text: a post-structural anthology* (Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981)

Foucault, M cited in Stuart Hall, 'Foucault: Power, Knowledge and Discourse', in Margaret Wetherell et al (eds) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Dehli: Sage Publications, 2001)

Frederikse, Julia. *None but Ourselves: Masses versus the Media in the Making of Zimbabwe*, (Harare: Oral Traditions Association of Zimbabwe, 1982)

French, Paul. *Shadows of a Forgotten Past: To the Edge with the Rhodesians-SAS and Selous Scouts*, (UK: C G Books; UK: Hellion and Company, 2012)

Gann, Lewis, H. and Henriksen, Thomas. H. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: Battle in the Bush* (New York: Prager Publishers, 1981)

Gluck, Sherna cited in Donald Ritchie, *Doing Oral History* (Broadway, New York: Twayne Publishers, 1995)

Godwin, Peter and Hancock, Ian. *Rhodesians Never Die*: *The Impact of War and Political Change on White Rhodesia c.1970-1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993)

Godwin, Peter, *When a Crocodile Eats the Sun: A Memoir of Africa* (London: Picador, 2007)

Gorman, Robert. F, *Great Debates at the United Nations: An Encyclopaedia of Fifty Key Issues, 1945-2000* (Greenwood Press: Westport, Connecticut, 2001)

Grele, Ronald. J. quoted in Yvette J. Kopijn, 'The Oral History Interview in Cross-Cultural Setting: An Analysis of its Linguistic, Social and Ideological Stricture', in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) *Narrative and Genre: Contexts and Types of Communication* (New Brunswick (USA) and London (UK): Transaction Publishers, 2009)

Gustafsson, Ingemar et al, *Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production (ZIMFEP): A follow up study* (Stockholm: SIDA Education Division Document Number 29, 1991)

Hall, S. 'Introduction', in Stuart Hall (eds), *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, (London: Sage Publications, 1997)

Hansen, A. 'Some Insights on African Refugees', in Pamela A DeVoe (eds) *Selected Papers on Refugee Issues* (A Committee of the General Anthropology Division: American Anthropological Association, 1992)

Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home,* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) 1994)

Hynes Samuel quoted in Alistair Thomson, 'Life Stories and Historical Analysis', in Simon Gunn and Lney Faire (eds) second edition *Research Methods for History* (United Kingdom: Edinburgh University Press, 2016)

Impey, Angela. 'Sound, Memory and Dis/placement: Exploring sound, song and performance as oral history in the Southern African bordelands' in in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Jackson, Jeremy. 'Repatriation and reconstruction in Zimbabwe' in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home,* (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994)

Jessee, Erin. 'The Limits of Oral History: Ethics and methodology amid highly politicised research settings' in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Kopytoff, Igor. The Cultural Biography of things: Commoditization as a process in Igor Kopytoff (eds) *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

Krieger, L. *Ranke: The Meaning of History*, (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1977)

Lan, David. *Guns and Rain: Guerrillas and Spirit Mediums in Zimbabwe's Liberation* War (London: James Currey, 1985)

Makanya, S.T. 'The desire to return: Effects of experiences in exile on refugees repatriating to Zimbabwe in the early 1980s' in Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994)

Martin, David and Johnson, Phyllis. *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War* (Johannesburg: Rang Publishers, 1981)

Matjaka Nare, P. 'Education and the War' in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (eds), *Society in Zimbabwe's liberation War*, (Harare: University of Zimbabwe Publications, 1995)

Derek Matyszak. *Law Politics and Zimbabwe's 'Unity' Government* (Harare: The Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, 2010)

McLaughlin, J. '"We did it for love" Refugees and Religion in the Camps in Mozambique and Zambia during Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle', in Carl Hallencreutz and Ambrose Moyo (eds), *Church and State in Zimbabwe* (Gweru, Zimbabwe: Mambo Press, 1988)

McLaughlin, Janice et al, *Education with production in Zimbabwe: the story of ZIMFEP*, (Harare, Zimbabwe: Zimbabwe Foundation for Education with Production; Gaborone, Botswana: Foundation for Education with Production, 2002),

Mlambo, Alois. 'From the Second World War to UDI, 1940-1965', in Brian Raftopolous and Alois Mlambo (eds) *Becoming Zimbabwe: A history from the Pre-colonial Period to 2008* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2009)

Moorcraft, P. and McLaughlin, P. *The Rhodesian War: Fifty years on* (Bernsley, South Yorkshire: Pen and Sword Military, 2015)

Mpofu, Joshua. *My Life in the Liberation of Zimbabwe* (United States: Authorhouse, 2014)

Mubaya, Tapuwa. R. et al. 'Memorialisation of Liberation War Heritage in Africa: An Appraisal of some selected Zimbabwean Landscapes of Cultural Memory in Mozambique and Zimbabwe', in T. R Mubaya and M. Mawere (eds) *Colonial Heritage, Memory and Sustainability in Africa: Challenges, Opportunities, Prospects* (Langaa RPCIG, 2015)

Munslow, A. *Deconstructing history*, (London and New York: Routledge, 1997)

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J. *The Ndebele Nation: Reflections on Hegemony, Memory and Historiography*, (Amsterdam and South Africa: Rozenberg/Unisa Press, 2009)

Nhongo-Simbanegavi, J. *For better or worse* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2000)

Pingle, Ian. *Dingo Firestorm: The Greatest Battle of the Rhodesian Bush War* (Cape Town: Zebra Press, 2012)

Portelli, A. *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and other Stories, Form and Meaning in Oral History* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1991)

Portelli, A. *The Battle of Valle Giulia: Oral History and the Art of Dialogue* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1997)

Portelli, Allesandro. ‘Oral History as a Genre’, in Mary Chamberlain and Paul Thompson (eds) *Narrative and Genre* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998)

Portelli, Allesandro ‘What makes Oral History Different’, in Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (Third edition) (Routledge: London and New York, 2016)

Ranger, T.O. Peasant Consciousness and Guerrilla War in Zimbabwe: A Comparative Study (London: James Currey, 1985)

Ranger, T.O. *The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia 1898-1930,* (London: Heinemann Educational Books,, 1970)

Ranger, T.O. ‘Studying repatriation as part of African social History’, in Tim Allen and Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink (eds) *When Refugees Go Home*, (Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD), 1994)

Ranger, T.O, *Writing Revolt: An Engagement with Nationalism* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey; Harare, Zimbabwe: Weaver Press, 2013)

Reid-Daly, R.F. *Pamwe Chete: The Legend of the Selous Scouts*, (Johannesburg and London: Covos Day Books, 1999)

Rüsen, Jörn. *Making sense of history: History, Narration, Interpretation, Orientation* (New York and Oxford: Berghan Books, 2015)

Rüsen, John. *History: Narration- Interpretation-Orientation*, (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2005)

Sachikonye, Lloyd, *When a State Turns against its Citizens* (Jacana: Johannesburg, 2011)

Sadomba, Z.W. ‘*War Veterans in Zimbabwe’s Revolution: Challenging Neo-Colonialism and Settler and International Capital’* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2011)

Said, Edward. W. *Representations of the Intellectual: The 1993 REITH lectures* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994)

Sangster, Joan. ‘Politics and Praxis in Canadian Working-Class Oral History’ in (third edition) Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson (eds) *The Oral History Reader* (London and New York: Routledge, 2016)

Schmidt, Heike. *Colonialism and Violence in Zimbabwe: A history of Suffering*’ (Woodbridge, Suffolk: James Currey, 2013)

Sellström, Tor. *Sweden and National Liberation in Southern Africa* Vol.II: *Solidarity and Assistance 1970 -1994*, (Nordiska Afrikaistitutet: Uppsala, 2002)

Stedman, Stephen.J and Tanner, Fred. ‘Refugees as Resources in War’, in Stephen John Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War, Politics, and the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington D.C: Brookings Institution Press, 2003)

Stokke, Olav and Widstrand, Carl. (eds), *The UN-OAU Conference on Southern Africa, Oslo 9-14 April 1973: Programme of Action and Conference Proceedings (Volume 1),* (Uppsala: Institute of African Studies, 1973)

Stoler, Ann. Laura, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2008)

Tekere, Edgar and Ibbo Mandaza, Ibbo. *Edgar “2-Boy” Zivanai Tekere: A Lifetime of a Struggle*, (Harare: Sapes Books, 2007)

Thompson, Paul *The Voice of the Past: Oral History* (Third edition) (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2000)

Tungamirai, Josiah. 'Recruitment to ZANLA: Building a War Machine', in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terence Ranger (eds) *Soldiers in Zimbabwe's Liberation Struggle* (James Currey: London, 1995)

Unger, Daniel. 'Ain't Enough Blanket: International Assistance and Cambodian Political Resistance', in Stephen J Stedman and Fred Tanner (eds) *Refugee Manipulation: War Politics, And the Abuse of Human Suffering* (Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2003)

Van Dijk, Teun. 'Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis', in Margaret Wetherell et.al. (eds) *Discourse Theory and Practice: A Reader* (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2001

Watts, Carl. Peter. *Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence: An International History*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012)

Werbner, Richard. 'In Memory: A Heritage of War in South-Western Zimbabwe', in Ngwabi Bhebe and Terrence Ranger (eds) *Society in Zimbabwe's Liberation War* (Oxford: James Currey, 1996)

Yow, Valerie *Recording Oral History: A Practical Guide for Social Scientists* (London: Sage Publications, 1994)

Wood, J.R.T. *Counter-Strike from the Sky: The Rhodesian All-Arms Fire force in the war in the Bush 1974-1980*, (Pinetown, South Africa: 30º South Publishers, 2009)

Wood, J.R.T. *Operation Dingo: Rhodesian Raid on Chimoio and Tembué, 1977* (Pinetown, South Africa: 30º South Publishers and Solihull, England: Helion and Company Limited, 2011)

Theses

Diamon, Anusa 'Mabhurandaya': The Malawian Diaspora in Zimbabwe:1895-2008, Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Free State, November 2015

Manungo, Kennedy. D. 'The Role Peasants played in the Zimbabwe War of Liberation (With special emphasis on Chiweshe District)', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Ohio University, 1991

Mulinda, C.K. 'A Space for Genocide: Local Authorities, Local Population and Local Histories in Gishamvu and Kibayi (Rwanda)' Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2010

Maringira, Godfrey. 'Soldiers in Exile: The Military Habitus and Identities of Former Zimbabwean Soldiers in South Africa', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of the Western Cape, South Africa, 2014

Marizane, Antonio. Santos. 'Religious Change in the Trans-Frontier Nyungwe-speaking region of the middle Zambezi, c.1870-c.1970', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of London, 29 May 2016

Marongwe, Ngoni. 'Rural women as the invisible victims of militarised political violence: the case of Shurugwi district, Zimbabwe' Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape, 2011

Mazambani, Ishmael. 'Did Children Matter?: Unprotected Children in "Protected Villages" Created by the Rhodesian Regime During the Liberation Struggle for Zimbabwe', Unpublished PhD Thesis, Midlands State University, 2016

Mushishi, Clifford. 'Apects of Budya Traditional Religion which promotes Human Rights', Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Cape Town, 2010

Ncube, Mkhokheli. Managing Common Pool Resources: Local Environmental Knowledge and Power Dynamics in Mopane Worms and Mopane Woodlands Management: The Case of Bulilima District, South-Western Matabeleland, Zimbabwe, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Witwatersrand, 2016

Ognibene, Terri Ann. 'Discovering the Voices of the Segregated: An Oral History of the Educational Experiences of the Turkish People of Sumter County, South Carolina, Unpublished PhD Thesis, Georgia State University, Atlanta, Georgia, 2008

Shigwedha, Vilho Amukwaya. Enduring Suffering: The Cassinga Massacre of Namibian Exiles in 1978 and the Conflicts between Survivors Memories and Testimonies', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of the Western Cape, 2011

Whande, Webster Framing Biodiversity Conservation Discourses in South Africa: Emerging Realities and Conflicting Agendas within the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of the Western Cape

Williams, Christian. A. 'Exile History: An Ethnography of the SWAPO Camps and the Namibian Nation', Unpublished PhD Dissertation, University of Michigan, 2009.

Newspaper articles and online sources

BBC News, 14 May 1979

BBC Radio Report, 27 February 1976

Moto Magazine, 12 April 1980

News 24 archives, 17 June 2008.

Newsday, 8 August 2016

Rand Daily Mail, 27 November 1976

The Rhodesian Herald 17 June 1976

The Rhodesian Herald, 31 March 1979

The Sunday Mail, 7 August 2016

The Telegraph, 29 January 2001

The Star, 13 November 1976

The Zimbabwean, 10 February 2012

The Rhodesian Herald, 18 June 1976.

The Telegraph, 20 November 1976.

The Rhodesian Herald, 20 November 1976

Rand Daily Mail, 24 December 1976

Times, 29 November 1977

The Rhodesian Herald, 31 March 1979.

The Star Africa Services, 28 April 1979

The Guardian, 1 April 1976.

The Rhodesian Herald, 2 April 1976.

Rhodesian Herald, 20 November 1976

Guardian, 20 November 1976.

Star, 20 November 1976

Rand Daily Mail, 20 December 1976

Rand Daily Mail, 24 December 1976. S

BBC World Services, January 1977

The Rhodesian Herald, 3 June 1976

The Telegraph, 21 December 1976

The Times, 26 February 1980

Telegraph, 14 December 1979.

The Rhodesian Herald, 5 January 1980

The Rhodesian Herald, 24 January 1980

The Times, 25 February 1980

Times, 17 January 1980

Rand Daily Mail, 21 January 1980

The Rhodesian Herald, 18 January 1980.

Telegraph, 6 February 1980

Voice of America, 10 February 2012

Cynthia Goba, 'Sad News: War Veteran dies', *Sunday News*, 14 October 2018. Downloaded from https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/33332-sad-news-war-veteran-dies.html?fbclid=IwAR3SuFsOVWzP8N4IbgJby_RqCjjdUguGFrtlLoM_OM7vKqZ5qyXzBewdW3s

Khuluma Africa, 19 November 2017. Accessed online https://khulumaafrika.com/2017/11/19/ruling-zanu-pf-bans-grace-life-expels-several-powerful-figures/

Kwaramba, Fungi, 'We're not fazed by army threats', *The Daily News*, 12 August 2016. Accessed online https://www.dailynews.co.zw/articles/2016/08/12/we-re-not-fazed-by-army-threats-chimene See also, Blessed Mahlanga, 'Chimene responds to Chiwenga attack', The Standard, 14 August 2016. Accessed online https://www.thestandard.co.zw/2016/08/14/chimene-responds-chiwenga-attack/

Manyowa, Maynard, 'Ruling Zanu PF bans Grace for life, expels several powerful figures', Robert Mugabe's 1980 victory: Newsnight special (1980)- Newsnight archives' downloaded from the internet, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSWQF2ZXOrA&t=1109s accessed on the 25th of February 2017

Robert Mugabe's 1980 victory: Newsnight special (1980)- Newsnight archives' downloaded from the internet, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JSWQF2ZXOrA&t=1109s accessed on the 25th of February 2017

Sibanda, Daniel, 'High Court confirms Mutsvangwa as legitimate leader of war vets', Myzimbabwe news. Accessed online https://www.myzimbabwe.co.zw/news/7731-high-court-confirms-mutsvangwa-as-legitimate-leader-of-war-vets.html

Sunday Mail Reporter, 'Refugees Screening promised', *Sunday Mail*, 20 January 1980

'Minister Chimene savages Muchinguri as Zanu PF factionalism gets dirtier' *Pazimbabwe,* 1 August 2015. Accessed online https://www.pazimbabwe.com/zimbabwe-6894-chimene-undresses-oppah-muchinguri.html

International conventions and agreements

OAU Convention Governing Refugee Problems in Africa. Adopted on the 10th of September 1969 by the Heads of State and Governments. Cab/Leg/24.3. Entered into force on the 3rd of June 1974

Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference held at Lancaster House Agreement, September to December 1979 Report

ANNEXURE A

Alice Chaperuka

Alice Chaperuka was born in 1961 in Subchief Mandeya's area, Honde Valley, Mutasa District. Genealogically, Alice belongs to the Saunyama dynasty, a ruling polity that has a chieftainship in the Nyanga district of eastern Zimbabwe. Alice does not remember the year she started going to school but she however remembers that she went to school as far as grade 3. When Alice was young, her father passed away. This resulted in her mother returning back to her family in the Chiendambuya area of Makoni District. Alice was left in the care of her grandparents. When the war intensified in the Honde Valley area, Alice fled to Mozambique and lived at Pungwe base before its bombardment in 1976. After the destruction of Pungwe base, Alice went to live at Mavhonde base. When Mavhonde base was also bombed, Alice and other refugees were taken to Tembwe, a camp which was both under the custodianship of FRELIMO *camaradas* and the guerrillas. Alice remembers that the refugees had to contend with the rampant food shortages in the camp. They later supplemented the food donations that they were receiving from donor organisations through carrying out some agricultural activities in the camp. Upon independence in 1980, Alice and other refugees were repatriated back to Zimbabwe through Toronto Refugees' reception centre near Mutare. At present Alice is now married and is staying in the Honde Valley area with her family.

Jeffrey Dube

Jeffrey Dube was born in Bulilima District in 1958. Jeffrey started his Sub A at Madhlambudzi school in 1970 when he was 12 years old. After completion of his Grade seven studies, Jeffrey went to look for work at a yard in Bulawayo's law density suburbs. Although Jeffrey got employment, he had to contend with the racial abuse that he often suffered at the hands of his employers. This treatment led to Jeffrey to make a decision to go and join the liberation war in 1978. As such he crossed the border through the Maitengwe area. In Botswana, Jeffrey was taken to Induna Memwe's place and was ferried to Francistown. Although Jeffrey wanted to go and join the liberation, from Francistown he was nevertheless taken to Dukwe refugee camp. He stayed at Dukwe refugee camp until the end of the war in 1980. Presently, Jeffrey is employed by Madhlambudzi Boarding school as Boarding Master. He is married and stays with his wife and family in Chief Madhlambudzi's area.

Mgwazu Dube

Mgwazo Dube, whose original surname is Sibanda (took his mother's surname when he started school), was born in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District where he also grew up. After completion of Standard 4, he went to look for work in Bulawayo and after briefly working in Bulawayo, Mgwazu decided to leave the country to join the liberation war, and crossed the border into Botswana. In Botswana, he was helped by Induna Memwe to reach Thutume where he and others were later ferried to Francistown. He stayed briefly at Francistown before he was transferred to Selebi Pikwe and subsequently ferried to Zambia, where he stayed at JZ 1 and JZ 2. He got injured when JZ 2 was attacked by the Rhodesians. In Zambia, Mgwazu was subjected to light military skills such as doing *toyi toyi* and digging trenches that were to be used in the event of any enemy attack. Mgwazu returned to Zimbabwe after independence in 1980. Presently, he is living in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, where he is the Chairperson of Madhlambudzi Refugees' Association.

Thomas Dube

Thomas Dube was born and grew up in Chief Mapungwana's area, Chipinge District in 1943. He went to Tamandai School for his primary education but dropped out in Standard 4 after the death of his parents. In 1961, Thomas got employed at a certain Murombo's house to herd his cattle and donkeys thereafter joined Southdowns Estates working in the irrigation section and rising to the position of foreman afterwards. He subsequently left Southdowns to join Katiyo Tea Estates as a Pump Attendant, a positon he held for close to four years, till he left on the 2nd of June 1971 and crossed the border into Mozambique to join the liberation war. In Mozambique, he met some comrades at their base on Mt. Zaramira was taken toNyadzonia camp, where he lived in the *vakomana* section of the camp and was in the company of C that was headed by a certain Gutu. At Nyadzonia, Thomas was taught how to use a gun using a stick, which stick was supposed to be treated as a proper gun and was supposed to have it all the time and losing it was not acceptable at all. Thomas survived the Nyadzonia attack by the RSF and he and others were transferred to Doroi refugee camp where he was then selected to go for formal military training in Nachingwea, Tanzania towards the end of 1976. After training, Thomas was deployed to the war front in north-eastern Zimbabwe. In 1977, after crossing back to the rear in Tete, Mozambique, Thomas was arrested by Mozambican authorities after his commander had accidentally killed a FRELIMO soldier in a fist fight.

Although the commander who committed the crime managed to escape from the Mozambican gaol, Thomas served a prison sentence and was only released in 1985. Upon his release, he walked home to Chipinge by foot from Beira and arrived in 1986. He later re-joined Katiyo Tea Estates in his previous capacity as a Pump Attendant. Thomas unsuccessfully tried to get gratuities that were given to former combatants. Currently, Thomas is residing with his family in Sipeya village, Subchief Mandeya's area.

Simon Gutsaru

Simon Gutsaru was born in Subchief Mandeya's area, in Honde Valley. He does not know his birth year but he reckons that there was nothing in the form of schools and shops in his area that time, such that they would to travel a great distance to as "far as Penhalonga to buy an item such as salt." However, by the time he started school in 1961, he was about fifteen or sixteen years old. Simon left school on completion of Standard three, and went to look for work in Mutare. He found work as a garden boy but eventually left and went to the then Salisbury to look for better opportunities. Simon was summoned home by his parents since most people had fled to Mozambique where they wanted him to join them. Initially, Simon refused but eventually complied and joined his family in Chief Nenhanga's area in 1965 [1975], arriving there just "after FRELIMO had won." Life was difficult for his family in Mozambique, as there were shortages of basic commodities after FRELIMO had chased away all the people of Portuguese origin from Mozambique. The situation in Rhodesia deteriorated further and those that attempted to return to Rhodesia to collect the livestock they had left behind were killed. In Mozambique, Simon was conscripted into the people's *Militia* since his family had lied to FRELIMO that they were Mozambicans. FRELIMO was defeated by RENAMO and was subsequently chased away from the area leading to Simon and all the people who were in the *militia* to join RENAMO, and later received military training by the Rhodesians at Odzi. Simon was later deployed into Mozambique where he participated in RENAMO and FRELIMO conflicts. On hearing news of the Zimbabwean independence, Simon who was operating in the Gondola area of Mozambique escaped from RENAMO and walked to Honde Valley. Upon his arrival, he was arrested by the police who interrogated him on his association with RENAMO, and was only released when, the former president of Mozambique, Joachim Chissano came to Mutare to confirm his nationality as well as others with him. After a period of reporting to the police at required times Simon and

some of his colleagues were later left alone. At present he is living at his home in Kraal Head Sipeya's area, Sub Chief Mandeya, Honde valley and survives on basketry.

Tendai Jimu

Tendai Jimu was born in Subchief Mandeya's area, in Honde Valley. His father worked in the Fern Valley area of Mutare. In 1975 when the RSF was forcing people to go into the PVs, Tendai's father decided to move to Mozambique. His father refused to join the rest of the family. In Mozambique, Tendai's family lived near Mavhonde, a base that was used by both FRELIMO and the guerrillas. He also started going to school there. However, in 1977, the RSF bombed Mavhonde base and Tendai remembers that some people died during the bombardment. After independence, Tendai's family came back to Honde Valley. He also started going to school there. At present, he is married and is living in Harare where he works for a Kapenta fish packaging company.

Veronica Maboni

Veronica Maboni was born in Mutasa to a father of Shangaani origins and mother from Mutasa. She never went to school for during those days most parents were sceptical about sending girl children to school for fear that they will become prostitutes once they got educated. According to her, although she participated in clearing land for the establishment of a school at Mandeya, she only attended lessons for just one week before the parents circulated word to bar girls from attending school. She later met and married her husband who was from the neighbouring village. When the war in Mozambique ended in 1975, Veronica and others heard that war was also going to start in Rhodesia. Coupled with the tense situation that they were seeing, Veronica's family and others such as the Makenzi, Chare and Mutivho decided to go and live in Mozambique which they now considered to be safe. They settled near Mt. Zaramira in Chief Nenhanga's area. According to her, the reason that made them to settle in Nenhanga was that her family were friends with one Shumbayaonda, a deputy Kraal Head there. Shumbayaonda used to come and sell his winnowing baskets in Mandeya and would be assisted by the Maboni family. In Mozambique, Veronica witnessed the bombing of Mavhondo [sic] business centre in which many people living that area died. She later came back to Rhodesia under the escort of RENAMO fighters when the life of her family was no longer safe in Mozambique. What

contributed to their lack of security there was that her daughter was married to one of the RENAMO fighters who was also originally from the Honde Valley. That relationship courted the interest of FRELIMO who started troubling them. After repatriating, she went to live in Keep 7. In 1981, she went back to stay at her original home.

Junior Maboni

Although Junior Maboni does not know the day she was born, her National Social Security Identity card states that she was born 1949. She never went to school as her parents died when she was still very young. Originally, Junior's grandfather had originated from Uteve, near Chimoio in Mozambique before settling in Mutasa. When she was growing up Junior remembers that they used to participate in *chikunumbira* and *maNgoni,* dances which were popular during those days. Junior later married her husband who was from the neighbouring Sipeya Village. Before the war she worked at one of the tea estates in Honde Valley plucking tea leaves. When signs of war in the Honde Valley area became evident, Junior and her family decided to move to Mozambique. Since that time the border was not yet fully militarised, Junior and her family took their livestock with them to Mozambique. They settled in Zidhora village, Chief Nenhanga's area. However, since they did not plant any crops during the year of their arrival, survival in Mozambique that year was difficult for Junior and her family. As such they had to survive through engaging in a program called *kusunza,* one in which a person relatively begs for food. As such, the local Mozambicans would make them work in their fields and in return they would be given maize meal. Junior and her family later left Mozambique for the Rhodesian keeps since "they (the Rhodesians) were coming there also." Thus, for Junior, it was no longer safe to continue staying there. At the end of the war Junior went to stay at her old home. Her husband however, passed away just after the end of the war. She still lives with her son. Her other child, a daughter is married and stays with her husband.

Pios Makoto[1]

Pios Makoto was born in Makwara Village, Sub Chief Mandeya's area, Honde Valley. In 1976 he fled to Mozambique when the war started in the Honde Valley area. He stayed in Mozambique and returned when the war ended in 1980.

[1] Pios Makoto was reluctant to give in depth details about his life

Evelyn Makwara

Evelyn Makwara was born in Mozambique, Chief Makore's area in a family of 18. During the time she was growing up, people from her area used to skip the border to Subchief Mandeya's area for grinding mill services. They would also come to Subchief Mandeya's area to participate in traditional dances known as *chikunumbira chanjunja*, which was very popular during those days. It was during one of the nights when she had come for *chikunumbira* that Simon, her future husband's younger brother proposed love to her. Evelyn refused arguing that Simon was younger than her. Simon accepted her reasons but he told her that he was going to ask his elder brother to consider proposing instead. According to Evelyn, Simon later informed his brother Peter then working in Salisbury. Peter promptly responded and visited the village thereafter and proposed to Evelyn. The two got married afterwards. Upon the intensification of the war in the Honde Valley area and when *mabhunu* were asking everyone to go the PVs as well as to report any encounter with the guerrillas, Evelyn took her family to Mozambique leaving her husband then working in Salisbury behind. Her husband later joined them in Mozambique together with her mother in law. After the conscription of her husband in the RENAMO army whilst residing in Chief Nenhanga's area, Evelyn returned back to her parents in Chief Makore's area. She was later arrested by FRELIMO after she was reported by fellow Mozambican villagers that her husband was with RENAMO. She was only released six months later after lying to FRELIMO that she had been divorced from her husband by the time of his arrest. Upon her release, she crossed the border into what was now Zimbabwe-Rhodesia in 1979 and went to stay with her family in Keep 7. Presently, she is staying with her husband, together with some of her children and grandchildren.

Katoya Makwara

Katoya Makwara was born in Chief Katerere's area in Nyanga District. She does not know when she was born but knows that she is of Barwe origin, the ethnic grouping of Chief Makombe of Mozambique. Katoya's marriage was arranged by her parents. According to her, her father used to come from Mozambique to Subchief Mandeya's area selling reed mats and befriended her future father in law, Makwara. In the midst of that friendship, an arrangement was made between friends for their respective daughter and son to get married. Thus, Katoya got married into the Makwara family. However, when both the guerrillas and the RSF started operating the valley area, Katoya's family got threatening news from both agitating forces.

The RSF wanted the villagers to go into the keeps and the guerrillas wanted them to refrain from complying. As a result, Katoya and her children decided to flee to Mozambique. She was given a place to stay by Kraal head Makoko after telling him that "they were fleeing from the war." Her husband remained in Subchief Mandeya. Katoya only returned back to Zimbabwe after independence well after the people who were in the PVs had returned to the villages. Presently, Katoya is staying with her son, incumbent Kraal head Makwara.

Noah Mangemba

Noah Mangemba was born in Village Head Makwara's area under Subchief Mandeya, in Mutasa District. Although Noah does not remember the year that he was born, he nevertheless remembers that in 1975 he and his family decided to flee to Mozambique after the Honde Valley area had become insecure due to the war that had started. In Mozambique, Noah lived with his family in chief Timba's area. During his stay in Mozambique, Noah remembers that he was tasked by FRELIMO *camaradas* to accompany both refugees and people who were going to join the liberation war to Manica town. Noah was assigned this task because by that time most of the roads to Manica were heavily land mined. Therefore, Noah was given this special task by FRELIMO as way of ensuring the safety of the refugees and the would-be freedom fighters since he was familiar with both the roads and spots that were land mined. From 1977, Noah remembers that his area of residence in Chief Timba's area also became insecure as RENAMO fighters who were engaged in a war with Mozambique's ruling FRELIMO started raiding the area. According to Noah, RENAMO were mostly targeting refugees from the then Rhodesia for recruitment into their ranks. As he remembers, many refugees were captured and conscripted in the RENAMO army. He only survived RENAMO conscription by sleeping in the bush every night until his return to independent Zimbabwe in 1982. According to him, the reason why he only returned in 1982 and not in 1980 when the war ended in the then Rhodesia was that he wanted to be sure that he was not running away from one conflict to another. At the moment Noah is residing with his family in Village Head Makwara's area, in Honde Valley.

Archwell Masiya

Archwell Masiya was born on the 16th of January 1970 in Magadu village, Subchief Mandeya's area, Mutasa District. His family's homestead was located close to the border with

Mozambique. Although Archwell was young during the liberation war, he remembers that his family did not participate in any political activities during that time. However, in 1977, the guerrillas who were fighting for the liberation of Zimbabwe raided Archwell's village. The guerrilla raid prompted a heavy retaliation by the Rhodesian Security Forces (RSF). This resulted in Archwell's family fleeing for safety to Chief Makore's area in Mozambique. As Archwell remembers, during that period, the confrontations between the guerrillas and RSF resulted in most of the people from villages such as Nyamundanda, Makuwa, Magadu and Sipeya under Subchief Mandeya to flee to Mozambique. His father remained at his workplace in Harare. When in Mozambique, Archwell started attending school at Mavhonde under the tutelage of a man called Simao Bwanaiza. His school was located near Mavhonde, a place which acted as a service centre for areas such as Chief Makore and others. However, when Archwell's family were in Mozambique, the RSF planes raided the area again. The RSF raids started at 8 am and their main target was a guerrilla base that was located near Mavhonde. For Archwell, the battle at Mavhonde resulted in the death of his aunt, Rosemary Marwizi who was now working as a nurse at the local clinic. Upon her unfortunate death, Rosemary left a child who was one week old. Fortunately, the child survived and is now married in the Mtoko area of northeastern Zimbabwe. One thing that was caused by the battle of Mavhonde to Archwell's life was that his family was forced again to return to the then Rhodesia in 1978. Upon returning to Rhodesia, Archwell's family went to stay at Keep 7, Subchief Mandeya's area. When the country attained independence in 1980, Archwell started to attend school again at St. James Mandeya. Presently, he is now married and is staying in Harare with his family.

Jane Mharapara

Gogo Jane was born near St. Peters School in the Honde Valley area in a family of 4 girls and 3 boys. She does not know the date that she was born since "her parents never sent her to school as they were only concerned with just providing food to their children." More so during the time when Jane was growing up, there was no school in her area. St Peters' school was only built later after she had grown up. However, when she was growing up, her family were members of the United Methodist Church. She later married Mr Mharapara, a member of the Johane Marange Church, an African Independent church that had been founded by Johane Momberume. She remembers that she met Mharapara at St. Peters church. The only form of employment that Gogo Jane ever engaged in was picking tea at one of the Tea Estates in the Honde Valley area. In 1976, Gogo Jane and her husband went to seek refuge at Nyadzonia

Camp in Mozambique after the situation had deteriorated in the Honde Valley. She survived the Nyadzonia attack in which many people were killed by the Rhodesian Selous Scouts. After the destruction Nyadzonia, Gogo Jane and her family were transferred to Doroi refugee camp where they lived until the end of the war. Gogo Jane was repatriated to Keep 7, where she stayed for the rest of 1980. Due to the fear of the border, Gogo Jane and her family moved from the St. Peters area where she was living to Subchief Muparutsa's area which she considered safer. At the moment Jane is staying alone at her homestead. Her husband and one of their kids passed away. The surviving two are staying in Harare and they visit her once a year.

Samson Mhukayatadza

Samson Mhukayatadza was born in Penhalonga near the then Umtali and now Mutare in 1943. He left Penhalonga when he was 7 years old and went to live at the then Umtali General Hospital. This was after his father had got employment at the hospital. Samson did his Sub A and Sub B at the British African Police Post school before moving to Mutanda Government Primary School for his Standard 1 education. After completion of Standard 6, Samson then studied for an Artisan's course with the British Institute of Carrers through correspondence. After completion of the studies he then started working as an apprentice at Keyston Joiners. He then worked for Ponelis Construction company before joining Costain Africa Construction company. This was after a labour dispute that saw him suing his employers and winning the court case before being dismissed by the employer. Samson was then transferred by Costain Africa Construction from Mutare to Harare and thereafter Kwekwe. In the 1960s, Samson was a member of the People's Caretaker Council which was led by Joshua Nkomo. He was also arrested in 1964 for political activism and spent 14 days in prison. The war of liberation prevented Samson from visiting his rural home in the Honde Valley between 1976 and 1981. Samson married in the 1960s and has 10 children. Presently, he is now retired and is residing at his homestead in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area in the Honde Valley, Mutasa.

Jessica Mhukayatadza

Jessica Mhukayatdza was born in Tsambe near St. Augustines Mission School in Penhalonga. She grew up there and attended St. Augustines Mission School for her primary school education. She married her husband Samson Mhukayatadza in the 1960s and together they

have 10 children who are now adults. In 1976, Jessica fled from her home in Sub Chief Muparutsa's area and went to live with her husband, first in Harare and later in Kwekwe. According to Jessica, the reason that caused her to flee from the Honde Valley was that in 1976, the war had started in that area. During that time, the guerrillas who were fighting for liberation used to frequent her homestead asking for various food stuffs. One day, Jessica failed to meet the guerrillas demands since she had also run out of food supplies. On that same day, an uncle of the Mhukayatadzas was also visiting their homestead. Although it was not clear whether the guerrillas had linked Jessica's inability to provide them with food to the presence of the uncle, what they simply did was to order the uncle to leave the Mhukayatadza homestead immedeately. Although the uncle managed to plead with the guerrillas to spent one more day at the Mhukayatadza homestead, to Jessica, what this meant was that her homestead was no longer safe. As such she telephoned her husband informing him of her plan to flee the Honde Valley the following day. Using the pretext that she was taking a sick child to the clinic to the Rhodesian Security Forces who were manning the roads, Jessica managed to reach the then Umtali and now Mutare from where she took a train to the then Salisbury and now Harare. She stayed there until the end of the war. Upon her return to the Honde in 1981, Jessica found out that her homestead had been vandalised by a neighbour who had removed all the corrugated iron roofing sheets of her house. He had also removed all the movable property from the homestead. When Jessica tried to ask the neighbour why he had vandalised her homestead, the neighbour had threatened to kill Jessica with a matchete. He also accused her of having been a sellout who had fled to the cities during the war instead of going to the PVs and suffer with others. When the neighbour made a second visit to the Mhukayatadza homestead with the same threat to kill her, Jessica went to the police to make a report on both the vandalisation and the death threats. The neighbour was then arreseted and sentenced to two years in prison. The two families have since made peace and frequently visit each other. Presently Jessica is staying with her husband Samson.

Rudolph Moyo

Rudolf Moyo was born at Plumtree hospital in 1961 in a family of eight comprising of six boys and two girls. Originally, Rudolf hails from the Tegwani area of Bulilima District. Rudolph went to school until Standard 4. After leaving school he went to look for work in Bulawayo. He worked in Bulawayo briefly before making a decision to go and join the liberation war. He left the then Rhodesia in 1977. After crossing the border, he was assisted by

Induna Memwe to go to Thutume from where they were later ferried to Francistown. After staying in Francistown, Rudolph and others were then transferred to Selebi Pikwe where they were supposed to board the flight to Zambia. After he got to Zambia, Rudolph stayed at camps such Nampundu, Solwezi and JZ 3 which was also known as Mayewa. At JZ 3, Rudolph remembers that his camp commander was a man called Makanyana who took them through the *toyi toyi* drills daily. After the end of the war, Rudolph repatriated through Luveve area and thereafter went back home to Bulilima. He is currently residing in Chief Madhlambudzi's area and he survives through a brick making business.

Faith Mutamiswa

Faith Mutamiswa was born in 1963, in a family of five, in Subchief Samanga's area, in Honde Valley. Faith attended Gatsi Primary school but did not go further with her education as her parents failed to raise money for her school fees. As ayoung girl, Faith worked for a family known as the Masere as house girl. In October of 1976, Faith left her employment and joined four other friends who were going to join the liberation war in Mozambique. After crossing the Honde River on the other side of the border in Mozambique, Faith and her colleagues met FRELIMO soldiers who took them to Doroi refugee camp where thousands of other people who had left war torn Rhodesia were residing. Whilst at Doroi, Faith's legs started to trouble her and as a result she failed proceed further for military training. As a result, she spent the rest of the war years at Doroi working as a *gwada posto* or aide to one of the camp chefs. Upon independence, Faith returned to Zimbabwe. Faith married Gadza in 1986 and has one child who is now a grown-up man.

Winnet Mutamiswa

Winnet Mutamiswa was born in Subchief Samanga's area in Honde Valley in 1965. Winnet's family was very poor and as such, she started working at a very young age picking apples at a farm in Nyanga. In 1978, Winnet and four other girls decided to cross the border through the Nyanga area where she was working purportedly to join the liberation war. They crossed the border successfully and upon reaching Mozambique they met FRELIMO *camaradas* who decided to take them to a Doroi refugee camp. At Doroi, Winnet started attending school. She also met the father of her first child, a fellow refugee at Doroi. At independence Winnet and others repatriated back to Zimbabwe through Nyadire camp which was located in

Mashonaland East province of the country. They were later taken from that camp by their parents. Upon her return, Winnet got married to another man, the father of her other children. Her husband is now late and Winnet is living in Village 14 resettlement area under Subchief Mandeya 1, near Rusape.

David Mutivo

David Mutivo was born in Village Head Sipeya's area, Subchief Mandeya, Mutasa District. The area is also known as Honde Valley. Mutivo grew up in the area before migrating to Bulawayo in search of employment. After working briefly in Bulawayo, Mutivo returned back home to Sipeya Village, Honde Valley around the time that the war between the RSF and the guerrillas intensified, which led the Mutivo family amongst many others to flee to Chief Nyandiro's area in Mozambique. In Mozambique, Mutivo joined the Mozambican Militia, a special constabulary unit that was tasked with protecting Mozambican villagers from the RENAMO soldiers who were now assaulting Mozambican villages but when these assaults intensified Mutivo was captured by RENAMO fighters. Upon his capture, Mutivo was attested into the RENAMO army and received his training at Odzi near Mutare and was later deployed to the Tete area of Mozambique to fight FRELIMO. When Zimbabwe became independent in 1980, Mutivo and his colleagues, both Zimbabweans and Mozambicans decided to flee from RENAMO, hid their guns near the border of Mozambique and Zimbabwe and crossed into Zimbabwe. After crossing the border, the group briefly integrated into society before they were sold out as RENAMO operatives by other villagers leading to the group's arrest by ZNA who also recovered the group's hidden weapons. Mutivo and his colleagues spent some time in a prison in Mutare before he was transferred to a detention site in Goromonzi near the city of Harare. His Mozambican colleagues were taken back to Mozambique by Joachim Chissano, then a high-ranking member of FRELIMO and later president of Mozambique. At Goromonzi, Mutivo and his colleagues were tortured and later cleared after it was found out that they no longer posed a security threat to the country. Mutivo returned to the Honde Valley area where he is still living together with his family.

Eneris Ncube

Eneris Ncube was born to a certified farmer in the Tokwana area of Bulilima District in 1964. Eneris attended school in the Tokwana area and went as far as Grade six. In 1978, a group of

men who were carrying guns came to Eneris' place and asked them to go and join the liberation war. Eneris and a friend obliged and they managed to cross the border. In Botswana, Eneris and her colleague were assisted by Induna Memwe to proceed to Francistown via Tuthume. At Francistown refugee camp, Eneris remembers being addressed by Makepisi and a certain Sibanda who were representing the liberation movement of ZAPU. She also remembers that the refugees were supposed to adhere to a strict disciplinary behaviour. Eneris stayed at Francistown camp until the end of the war in 1980 when she repatriated back to independent Zimbabwe. Upon her return, Eneris went to stay with an aunt of hers in Chief Masendu's area. Since primary education had been declared as free, Eneris enrolled again for Grade six studies at Masendu Primary. After completing her grade 7, she proceeded to Masendu secondary. In Form 2, Eneris was impregnated by a soldier who refused responsibility for the pregnancy, leading to her decision to go back to Botswana to look for employment in order to fend for her unborn baby. After giving birth, her brother assisted her to continue with her Form three studies. However, she again failed to procced further as she fell pregnant again with her current husband's child. In 1986, Eneris decided to cross the border again to South Africa to look for work. Although she got employment she was forced to return to Zimbabwe after witnessing the bloody clashes between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party in Johannesburg. Presently, Eneris is staying with her husband Mr Moyo in chief Masendu's area and specialises in small grain farming.

Phumza Ncube

Phumza Ncube was born in Tsholotsho District, Matabeleland North Province of Zimbabwe in September of 1967. His mother was from chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District. His parents were divorced and Phumza went to stay with an uncle from his mother's side in the Madhlambudzi area. According to him, the uncle was a very abusive man and because of that Phumza never went to school and his mother did not help either as she had re-married to another man who was also abusive towards Phumza. In 1978 at the age of 11 Phumza and his 13-year-old brother decided to skip the border to participate in the liberation war. The two brothers crossed the border through the Maitengwe area from where they were picked up by Botswana Police who left them at Induna Memwe's place and later ferried to Francistown where they stayed for two days. Thereafter, they were taken to Selebi Pikwe where they stayed for another three days before being ferried to Zambia where he stayed in JZ 1 and JZ 2 camps. One of his camp commanders was a man called Makanyana and at both camps his daily

routine revolved around doing *toyi toyi* and attending school, where the former was meant to prepare the young refugees for war in case there was a shortage of fighting men at the war front. Towards the end of the war, he briefly stayed at VC where he and other refugees were eventually repatriated back to independent Zimbabwe in 1980. After repatriation, they were ferried to Fatima Mission where Phumza started attending Grade two, but he soon left the school to re-join his family in Madhlambudzi. Presently, Phumza stays in Chief Madhlambudzi's area with his wife and four children.

Wiseman Nkomo

Wiseman Nkomo was born in Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District on the 8th of September 1962, to Tabengwa Nkomo (originally from Gwanda District) whilst his mother was from Chief Masendu's area. Wiseman started his Sub A at Masendu Primary School in 1970 and left school in 1974 when he was in Grade five because his mind was not really focused since they were being disturbed by the Boers. After dropping out of school, Wiseman went to Bulawayo to look for work where he stayed briefly before deciding to go back to Bulilima where he heard that others were going to Botswana to join the liberation war. He also decided to go in 1977 and after crossing the border, Wiseman reached Memwe's place where he stayed for one week before proceeding to Francistown in the company of six others. Wiseman stayed at Francistown camp for a whole month. He remembers that although Francistown camp comprised of both refugees who were going to join the war and others who had been arrested on their way to *Egoli* or South Africa, they all referred to each other as *comrade* inside the camp. Wiseman was eventually transferred to Selebi Pikwe where he later flew to Zambia where he stayed at JZ 1 and JZ 2 camps where his camp commander was a man called Makanyana, who was deputised by a certain Bristol and a Mpofu. He returned home in 1980 through Luveve, and presently, he resides in Chief Masendu's area, in Bulilima District.

Godha Ndlovu

Godha Ndlovu was born in chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District in 1945. He grew up in the area. In 1975 when the political situation in the then Rhodesia started to deteriorate, Godha decided to flee from Rhodesia to Botswana. He crossed the border in 1975 and was assisted by Induna Memwe to reach Francistown. Godha stayed at Francistown camp for a year. At Francistown, whereas all the refugees in the camp were supposed to undergo military drills

under the watch eye of Makepisi, Godha was given a special task to conduct Christian prayers in the mornings and in the evenings. According to him, he was the only individual who was given permission to undertake this special task. Godha was then transferred to Selebi Pikwe in 1976 and stayed there until 1978 when Dukwe was constructed as refugee camp. After the completion of the Dukwe project, Godha and other refugees were then transferred to that camp. At Dukwe, Godha continued with his religious activities. He was also one of the senior refugees that were given the task of burying deceased refugees. As he remembers, at each burial ceremony, the commander always performed a ritual whereby the spirit of the deceased was told that the reason why they were burying him/her in the wilderness was because of war. Promises were also made to rectify the situation once the war had ended. At the end of the war in 1980, Godha returned home to Masendu. He is still a highly religious person and is also a member of Masendu village police service.

Manka Ndlovu

Manka Ndlovu was born in chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District. She started heading goats at the age of 15. In 1976 she heard about people were going to a place called Geneva on the radio that was being broadcasted from Zambia. As a result, she also wanted to go and join the war and also go to Geneva. Manka and a group of other girls crossed the border in 1976 through the Thutume area of Botswana. When she reached Francistown, Manka remembers that people were separated according to the political party which they followed and that is either ZANU or ZAPU. She joined the group that followed ZAPU. They spent most of their time at Francistown doing *toyi toyi* under the watchful eye of a man called Makepisi. They were later taken to Selebi Pikwe. At Pikwe, Manka remembers that their tasks revolved around doing military like exercises in the morning and thereafter proceed to clean the camp. The exercises also continued in the evening around 4 pm. As Manka remembers, whilst she was at Pikwe, her *amadhlozi* continued to tell her that she must go there (to Zambia). Manka was eventually taken to Zambia in the same year of 1976 and was lucky to be selected as a member of the delegation that went Geneva for talks that were taking place there in that year.

Marko Ndlovu

Marko Ndlovu was born in Bengali, Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima district in 1963. After the death of his father Marko went to stay in Bezo, also in Bulilima with his grandfather

where he started attending school. Marko was introduced to politics by one of his school teacher, since could not learn politics at home because his grandfather did not like politics as he was a coward or *gwala*. Upon completion of his Grade seven, Marko failed to proceed to secondary school because he did not acquire the sixteen units required for one to proceed to secondary school. In 1976, a group of armed men visited Marko's area and asked him and his friends to go and join the liberation war. Marko and his friends then crossed the border into Botswana intending to join the liberation war. In Botswana they were taken to a chief or headman whom he remembered as Moses Memwe who later took them to Francistown where he stayed at a place that resembled a prison or a refugee camp for 3 weeks. Thereafter, he was taken to Selebi Pikwe and stayed there until 1978 when they were taken to Zambia for military training. In Zambia, Marko first resided at Nampundu Camp and was later taken to JZ 1 where he started attending school. Marko was later trained in military tactics in Zambia and thereafter, selected to be a commissar tasked with disseminating information on what was happening at the war front to fellow colleagues. Upon the end of the war in 1980, Marko repatriated through Gwaai River camp and later went to Harare where he was tasked with guarding the ZAPU leader, Joshua Nkomo's house in Highfields Township. When Joshua Nkomo was dismissed from government in 1982, Marko returned back to Bulilima District where he stays with his family to date. Although Marko regards himself as a war veteran, he thinks that he missed out on the gratuities that were given to veterans because of lack of representation of people hailing from the Matabeleland Provinces in government decision making organs.

Otilia Ndlovu

Otilia Ndlovu was born on the 5th of September 1960 in the Nopemali area of Plumtree and did her primary education from Sub A to Grade seven at Tokwana Primary school. After completion of her Grade seven, her parents failed to raise money for her secondary education. Thus, from 1974 to 1976, Otilia spent most of her time herding her father's cattle. She was a member of the Full Witness church which she said was very strict in its request for membership to adhere to biblical code of conduct. In 1977, Otilia recalls seeing her colleagues being taken away by guerrillas and also news from Zambia saying "*abantwana bayafuneka, abanye bahambe esikolo* (children are wanted, some of them must go to school)." On hearing such news Otilia and her friend also decided to leave for Zambia. After crossing into Botswana through the Hingwe area, Otilia and her friend were taken to *Induna*

Changadhe before proceeding to Tutume where they were further ferried to Francistown. At Francistown, Otilia remembers that the commander there was a man called Jabulani Sibanda whom they used to refer to as Makepisi, who she describes as "a strict man." Otilia fell sick in Francistown and was taken to hospital where she was discharged on the same day. Her early discharge was that during that time some of the camp inmates were using the hospital as a loophole to escape from camp life and repatriate back to Rhodesia, where on return, some were caught by the Rhodesians who interrogated them and thereby forcing them to divulge the camp system. Therefore, "the authorities didn't want people to escape." From Francistown, Otilia was then flown to Zambia and was taken to VC camp, where she adopted the war name, Pamela Nhlupheko and was assigned to company D. Her platoon commander was Tsiyetsi Moyo from Gwanda. She was trained on how to use a gun and also spent most of her time attending classes. As a result, she studied for her Grade seven and Forms 1 and 2 whilst at VC. However, as she recalled, life at VC was not easy and sometimes they slept without eating anything. At independence, Otilia repatriated to Zimbabwe through Luveve and from there she went to Wanezi before going to Tegwani in September of 1980 to write exams. Although she harboured ambitions to continue with her education and become a journalist afterwards, Otilia was unable to do so due to a sickness (that was later diagnosed as spinal tuberculosis), which affected her from 1981 to 1983. She eventually recovered after getting proper medication. Otilia got married in 1986 and has six children.

Roy Ndlovu

Roy Ndlovu was born Chief Madhlambudzi's area in January of 1959. He is the third born in a family of seven. Roy never went to school and does not know why his "parents were not keen on sending him to school." Like most boys of his time, Roy started herding cattle when he was 15 years old. In 1977, Roy listened to a woman called Jane talking on the radio saying that "every child of Zimbabwe must go and fight for his country." At about the same time, a group of boys carrying guns also passed through his area and told them that "everyone must go and fight for the country." Roy promptly responded and left for the border with one of the boys, and arrived at Memwe's place, from which they were ferried by trucks to Tutume where they spent 3 nights before proceeding to Francistown. At Francistown, Roy met the commander of the camp, Makepisi who asked them "*abathengisi lapha ngobani*? (who amongst you is a sell-out)." At Francistown camp, Roy remembers that the daily routine revolved around exercises, eating and sleeping. On the exercises, superintended by Makepisi,

Roy remembers that there was Codes 9 and 6. Code 9 involved running and jogging and Code 6 was about doing press-ups. After spending 6 months at Francistown, Roy was taken straight to the airport after which he then went to Zambia. In Zambia, Roy stayed at Nampundu camp where he and other inmates spent most of the time doing *toyi toyi*. During his time in Zambia, Roy shuttled between JZ 1, JZ 2 and JZ 3 camps. It was at JZ 3 that he remembers Joshua Nkomo coming to the camp to tell them that "*ilizwe selibuyile kubantwana basemnyama* (the country has now been restored back to black children)" and therefore "we are going back home. Trucks will come to take you to Kitwe where you will meet the train." After Nkomo's address, Roy repatriated to independent Zimbabwe and stayed at Luveve refugees' repatriation centre. From Luveve, Roy and others were later taken to Fatima school in Lupane where he spent the rest of 1980 before going back to Madhlambudzi, where he stayed briefly before he left for Botswana to look for work and thereafter for South Africa and only returned in 1993. At present, Roy is married to Anania Tshuma and they have eight children. All his children are living and working in Botswana.

Tsiyetsi Ndlovu

Tsiyetsi Ndhlovu was born in chief Masendu's area, Bulilima district. Her father hailed from the Gwanda area of Matabeleland South Province whilst her mother was from Masendu. Tsiyetsi attended Masendu primary school. In 1978, she decided to go and join the liberation war. This prompted her and her friend to cross the border through Maitengwe area. She was assisted to cross the border by a relative who stayed in the border area. After crossing, they were taken to Induna Memwe's place who later facilitated their onward movement to Francistown. Tsiyetsi stayed briefly at Francistown and was later transferred to Dukwe refugee camp. Tsiyetsi remembers that her camp commander at Dukwe was a man called Tshabangu. She also remembers that at Dukwe all forms of religious practices were permitted in the camp. According to Tsiyetsi, life at Dukwe was a bit easier than at Francistown where they were subjected to some intense military like training. At Dukwe they only attended parade in the mornings and thereafter go back to their huts. When the war ended in 1980, Tsiyetsi returned back to independent Zimbabwe and was welcomed by her parents at Masendu Primary school. Tsiyetsi is currently residing in chief Masendu's area, Bulilima.

Henry Malakibungu Nkomo

Henry Malakibungu Nkomo was born in a family of three on the 15th of March 1961, in Bulawayo, to a Tanzanian father and a Kalanga mother from Masendu area of Bulilima. In 1968, Malakibungu went to Masuku Primary school in the Tshabalala Township of Bulawayo for his first grade. That same year, his mother suffered from tuberculosis and passed away, whereupon his maternal grandmother took away Malakibungu's younger brother to look after him while his elder brother went away from home leaving him home alone with his father. In 1969, Malakibungu's father developed a psychiatry problem and started chasing him away from home such that he sometimes had to gain entrance into the house through the window at night and relied on neighbours for food. In 1973, his maternal uncle came to take him to Masendu to herd his grandfather's cattle. In 1974, Malakibungu and his cousin were sent to Masendu shopping centre to buy some groceries and on the way, they met some guerrillas who had just arrived in the area. The guerrillas had left after asking him and his cousin a few things about the area. Unbeknown to Malakibungu their encounter with guerrillas had been noticed by other villagers who reported them to the Rhodesian authorities and they were both picked up by the police that night, and were taken to Madhlambudzi police camp where they were interrogated and beaten daily. After spending 9 months in police cells, without any charges preferred against them, Malakibungu was released. At home he met with a cousin of his, an ardent supporter of ZAPU who had returned from working in South Africa. He told Malakibungu about his plans to go to Zambia and asked him to come with him on this journey, which he complied to and together they skipped the border through the Hingwe area in December of 1974. In Botswana, they spent two nights at an Induna's place near Tutume before being ferried to Francistown and later to Selebi Pikwe. Eventually he was taken to Nampundu camp in Zambia, before being transferred to Mahewa and Solwezi camps and later to JZ. In Zambia, Malakibungu attended school from Grade four up to seven and when he repatriated back to independent Zimbabwe in 1980 he proceeded to complete his secondary education at JZ Moyo school in West Nicholson. After failing his exams, Malakibungu went to look for work in South Africa, herding cattle to raise funds to rewrite his exams. In 1984, Malakibungu passed the four subjects that he had initially failed and he found work as a temporary teacher. In 1985, Malakibungu was arrested on suspicions of being a dissident but was released after a year without any charges. In 1994, he enrolled at Gwanda ZINTEC College to train as a teacher and qualified in 1998. He is married to

Maureen Ndebele and they have 3 children. At present, Malakibungu is employed as a teacher at Masendu Primary School.

Senzeni Nyathi

Senzeni Nyathi was born in September of 1962 in Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District in a family of four boys and three girls. She attended Masendu Primary School where she only went as far as Grade five before running away from home in 1978 to join the liberation war. After crossing the border into Botswana, Senzeni and her colleagues stayed at Memwe's place for two days before they were taken to Francistown. She was later included in the "last group" to be taken to Zambia by an aeroplane, *flymachina*. Upon arrival in Zambia, Senzeni was taken to VC, a camp reserved for women only and was placed in a tent in which she resided with six other people. At VC, Senzeni recalls that they were told to adhere to strict disciplinary behaviours, as well as survival tactics like eating fast since they were in a war situation. She recalled that her camp commander was a woman called Jane. She also attended school at the VC and completed her Grade seven whilst still at the camp, in a curriculum that she reckons was mixed with the Zambian one. Upon independence, Senzeni repatriated to independent Zimbabwe in 1980, got married in 1983 to a man from Tsholotsho whom she left after he was arrested for a rape offence. During the time of her interview with Senzeni Khumalo, she was residing at her brother's homestead. Just like her fellow refugees in Chief Masendu's area, Senzeni is hoping that the government will remember them for their wartime suffering. According to her, "we had followed *obuthi wethu* who were fighting and we also spent time in the camp without food and also escaped from bombs" just like those who were later remunerated.

Christopher Nyoni

Christopher Nyoni was born in the city of Bulawayo in August of 1959 to an Angolan father and a Kalanga woman from Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District. His father was employed by the then Rhodesian Railways, and Christopher grew up in Bulawayo and other places where his father was posted. Apart from his mother's relatives, the only relative from his father's side that he knew of was an aunt called Bliardo who was married in the Esgodini area of Matabeleland Province. When Christopher turned fifteen years of age, he went to Bulawayo to look for work as a garden boy. He was lucky to get employment and he was

paid a handsome amount of $5-00, which, during that time was a windfall. However, despite getting good money, Christopher was not happy with the treatment he got from his employer, who for instance "used to serve us tea in an empty jam tin". In 1977, Christopher listened to a radio broadcast saying "*buyanini abantwana vaseZimbabwe sizolwela ilizwe lethu* (come children of Zimbabwe so that we can fight for our country)." He then left Bulawayo alone with the intention of joining the liberation war. After leaving Bulawayo, Christopher spent the night in a bus in Chief Madhlambudzi's area and he remembers avoiding detection by a white policeman who came to inspect the bus by hiding under a seat. After crossing the border through the Maitengwe area, he met some Tswana policemen who assisted him to reach Francistown, where after spending just three days at Francistown, his name was called out as one of the people selected to board the *flymachina* to Zambia. In Zambia, Christopher first stayed at Nampundu Camp and was later taken to JZ camp, the same camp where the boys that had been abducted from Manama mission also resided. Apart from doing his Grade seven at JZ, Christopher was also part of a musical group that included the famous post-independence Zimbabwe famous musician Solomon Skuza. When JZ was bombed by the Rhodesian, he had just left for Solwezi camp. Christopher also remembers that journalists used to visit the camps to check whether the inhabitants of those camps were really children or not. Upon independence, Christopher repatriated back to Zimbabwe through Luveve refugee repatriation centre and has since been residing in Chief Masendu's area. According to him, although he sees himself as a refugee, "*ibandla lethu le* ZANU PF says *singa ma* war collaborators (our party ZANU PF says we are war collaborators)."

Martha Rimao

Martha Rimao was born in Subchief Mandeya's area and she attended school up to Standard 3. Although she doesn't remember when she was born, she nevertheless reckons that she gave birth to her first born in 1960. Her father was a Kraal Head and when the war reached Honde Valley, her homestead was one those targeted by both the RSF and the guerrillas. As she remembers, the male members of her family used to be subjected to beatings by both the guerrillas and the RSF. According to her, the RSF will accuse them for entertaining the guerrillas and when the guerrillas come, they will accuse them for doing likewise. As a result, in 1975, Martha and her family decided to flee to Mozambique leaving behind all their livestock. They went to Chief Nenhanga's area where they were given a place to reside. However, settling in Mozambique was not easy for Martha and her family. They had no food

and had to work in the local Mozambicans' fields to get a gallon of maize meal. As she remembers, the Mozambicans will ask them to work on a larger piece land, big enough such that one will have to spend the whole day working on it before getting the gallon of maize meal as payment. Apart from suffering her hardships, there were also diseases in Mozambique. As a result, Martha Rimao and her family decided to come back to the Rhodesian keeps in 1977.

Luwela Sibanda

Luwela Sibanda was born in 1960 at Plumtree hospital. Luwela remembers that when she was growing up, at home the family spoke isiKalanga and at school she learnt isiNdebele. Luwela started going to school in 1969 and upon completion of Grade seven in 1976, she dropped out from school. In 1977, Luwela crossed the border into Botswana. According to her, she does not know the reason why she made that decision. She just followed others as *ndolondayo* (one who just follows without having any reason). However, just like most people crossing the border during that time, Luwela was taken to Francistown and from there to Selebi Pikwe before going to Dukwi camp. According to her, the reason why she did not proceed to Zambia was because of her young age. At Dukwi, Luwela remembers that they would spend time doing *toyi toyi* and they were also allocated companies. Her own company was led by a lady called Maria Ndebele who hailed from Nkayi area, Matabeleland North Province of Zimbabwe. According to her, although Dukwi had a commander by the name of Tshabangu, the refugees there were apolitical. "We just wanted to fight for our country." Luwela also recalled that although Dukwi camp was being guarded by Botswana security that did not stop Rhodesian planes from venturing there in 1978 and dropping pamphlets in the camp saying "*buyelani ekhaya* (come back home). However, the refugees were told by their camp commanders "not to pick the papers." Luwela returned to independent Zimbabwe after independence. At present, she is married to Sindalezwi Dube, the current Chief Masendu.

Maina Sibanda

Maina Sibanda was born in a family of six in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District in 1960 at "home and not in a hospital." For her primary education, Maina went to Mdhalambudzi Primary school where she did her Grade one up to seven. However, after completion of Grade seven, Maina was unable to proceed to secondary school because her

parents could not afford the fees. In 1978, Maina followed her brother who was going to join the war whilst carrying her child that she had got from her relationship with a certain man from Ndolwane area, also in Bulilima. She passed through Memwe's place where they were picked up by trucks to Francistown. In Francistown she met Makepisi who was the commander of that camp. Together with her child, Maina was then ferried by *flymachina* to Zambia whereupon arrival she was taken to VC camp. At VC, she changed her war name to Siza Mguni and was commanded by a Cecil Banda who was deputised by a certain Ndanga. Upon attainment of independence, Maina repatriated back to Zimbabwe through Luveve refugees' repatriation centre. In 1983, Maina married Stewart Mlauzi, a man from Malawi whom she had met in Bulawayo. According to her, after marriage, she was encouraged by her husband to build a rural home in Chief Madhlambudzi's area and that was before his death in 2007. She is still living at that homestead and does not consider herself a refugee for "my intention for leaving was to fight in the war, I saw everything, I survived the bombings. So how can I be a refugee?"

Esnathy Samushonga (nee Nyambuya)

Esnathy Samushonga was born in the Honde Valley. In 1975, she married Weston Samushonga as his second wife. In 1976, she fled the then Rhodesia with all the other family members. She survived Nyadzonia attacks and lived at Doroi refugee camp thereafter. After independence, she came back home to Zimbabwe, and stayed in Keep 7 for the rest of 1980. She currently resides with her husband, co-wife, children and grandchildren in Subchief Muparutsa's area.

R**onia Samushonga (nee Mwamuka)**

Ronia was born in the Honde Valley area. She is Weston Samushonga's first wife. In 1976, she fled the then Rhodesia together with her husband, three children and co-wife to Mozambique. She lived at Nyadzonia camp before its bombing and later at Doroi. Together with all the members of her family and husband, she came back to Zimbabwe, to Keep 7 after

independence. She currently resides with her husband and co-wife in Subchief Muparutsa's area. Her elder son who was also in Mozambique with them is now a school headmaster.

Cecilia Saraurayi

Cecilia Saraurayi was born in Subchief Mandeya's area, Honde Valley. She didn't go to school because "the teacher used to beat her" and she "simply did not like school." In 1972, Cecilia went to Highfields township, in the then Salisbury where she got employed as a domestic worker. In 1974, Cecilia got married to her husband who was also from the Honde Valley area. In 1975, Cecilia and her in-laws fled Rhodesia for Chief Makore's area in Mozambique after the situation had deteriorated in Rhodesia. However, her husband remained at his workplace in Salisbury. Cecilia also witnessed an incident whereby a bread delivery van was destroyed by a landmine blast. After spending sometime in Mozambique, Cecilia decided to come back to Rhodesia to join her husband in Salisbury. Although she encountered the RSF at the dip tank she nevertheless managed to evade them and proceeded to Salisbury. When her husband was retrenched, they went back to Makore to stay with the rest of the family. Whilst at Makore, the RSF started to penetrate into Mozambique and Cecilia's family was forced to move further to Chief Mabota's area. When they were in Mabota, they got entangled in FRELIMO and RENAMO conflicts, a situation that led to tensions between people who had fled Rhodesia and the local Mozambicans. As a result, the family later decided to go back to the PVs which they considered safer than the situation then prevailing in Mozambique. At present, Cecilia is still residing in Kraal head Sipeya's area, Subchief Mandeya.

Phineas Sibanda

Phineas Sibanda was born in the Ndolwane area of Bulilima District on the 18th of July 1962. He started going to school in 1968 and left school when he was in Standard three. After leaving school, Phineas went to the city of Bulawayo to look for employment. He managed to secure work as a garden boy in Bulawayo, working for a white family. As he remembers, he was not remunerated very well at his workplace and was also a victim of the racism that characterised black and white relations during that time, which prompted him to skip the border so that he can fight for the liberation of the country. He crossed the border into

Botswana through Maitengwe and was later assisted by Memwe to reach Thutume, from where he and others were then ferried to Francistown. At Francistown, Phineas remembers spending most of the time doing military exercises as well as running after an invisible animal. They were also put in different sections. From Francistown, Phineas was transferred to Dukwe refugee camp where he lived from 1978 until 1980 when he repatriated back to independent Zimbabwe. After his return to Zimbabwe, Phineas married his first wife Albertina Dumane who was from Madhlambudzi area. This resulted in him moving from Ndolwane to stay in Chief Madhlambudzi's area. Presently, Phineas is still staying in Chief Madhlambudzi's area together with his second wife whom he married after the death of Albertina.

Judah M Sifa

Judah M Sifa was born in 1962, sub chief Mandeya's area of Honde Valley, Mutasa District in a polygamous family. His father was a Native Doctor or *n'anga* in the Shona language. Although Judah's father had two wives, the family was not staying together in one place. His mother who was the senior wife was residing under Subchief Mandeya whilst the other family was staying in Subchief Chikomba's area. After hearing incidences of the Boers or *Mabhunu* terrorising people in the Honde Valley, Judah's mother decided to flee to Mozambique with her children. His father stayed behind with the other wife and family. In Mozambique, Judah's family first settled in Chief Makore's area and were forced to move further to Chief Nenhanga's area after Mavhonde was bombed by the RSF. Judah's father later followed the family to Mozambique. After staying for some time together, the second wife who had remained in the then Rhodesia started sending word through families who were fleeing to Mozambique asking Judah's father to return since they were now afraid of staying alone. Judah's father later obliged and decided to return back to Rhodesia. Unfortunately, Judah's father never reached the Keep where his second wife was living as he was caught in a cross fire between the guerrillas and the RSF near Katiyo Tea Estate where he was shot and killed. Because of the war, Judah and his mother failed to return and attend the burial ceremony of his father. In Mozambique, Judah attended school up to Grade four. Due to the insecurities that were now characterising Mozambique, Judah's family returned back to Rhodesia in 1978 After returning, Judah got employment at Katiyo Tea Estates. He got married in 1984. At present he is living with his family in Sipeya Village, Subchief Mandeya's area.

Nelly Tapelo

Nelly Tapelo was born Nkosilina Dube on the 13th of December 1960 in Chief Masendu's area, Bulilima District. She did all her primary schooling at Masendu School and failed to proceed to secondary school after her parents failed to raise the required school fees. Her father was a polygamist who had four wives and 12 children. In 1978, Mary together with a friend responded to a call on Radio Zambia to join the liberation war, and left for Zambia through Botswana. During the time that she left, Rhodesian soldiers were beating people in Chief Madhlambudzi's area and she was lucky to evade them. Upon crossing the border, she arrived at Memwe's place and later moved to Francistown, where she stayed for six months and spent most of the days there doing *toyi toyi* (war dance and exercises). Mary recalls that they were ordered to refer to each other as *comrade*. The laws were strict and "even your brother you were not supposed to greet." Mary was later transferred to Selebi Pikwe which according to her was a much larger camp than Francistown with even stricter laws. When Dukwi refugee camp was opened in 1978, Mary and others were transferred there. According to her, Dukwi was under the command of command of Marata and Tshabangu. They also did some light training there. She recalls that upon arrival at Dukwi, it was a bushy area and they had to build their houses using mud. Mary also remembers that at Dukwi camp, the conditions were worse. "There were no toilets for the camp's more than 4000 inhabitants. They used yellow maize to prepare *isitshwala* (thick porridge) which caused many people to suffer from diarrhoea." However, despite the hardships, Mary did her Forms 1 and 2 at Dukwi. She repatriated in 1980 after the elections had been conducted. Mary is married to S. Dube and lives in Chief Masendu's area.

Norman Tshuma

Norman Tshuma was born in Chief Madhlambudzi's area, Bulilima District. The son of a village head, Norman grew up in Madhlambudzi and started going to school there. After completing Standard 4, Norman went to look for work in Bulawayo. After working briefly in that town, Norman decided to leave the country and look for better opportunities in the Republic of South Africa. He went to South Africa in 1976 and worked there for 2 years. He returned back to the then Rhodesia in 1978. Upon his return, Norman became conscious of the political situation that was prevailing in the country. His political activism resulted in him being targeted by the authorities and was arrested towards the end of 1978. He was sentenced

to serve a prison term at Khami Maximum Security Prison. In 1979, Norman escaped prison and had to skip the border to seek refuge in Botswana. In Botswana Norman stayed at Francistown and Selebi Pikwe camps. He returned back to independent Zimbabwe in 1980. At the present he is now serving as the Village Head after he took over from his father upon his death. As the most senior of all Village Heads in chief Madhlambudzi's area, Norman also serves as the Chief's advisor.